THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIFE OF TODAY

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THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIFE OF TODAY

BY

REV. JOHN A. RICE, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION IN SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

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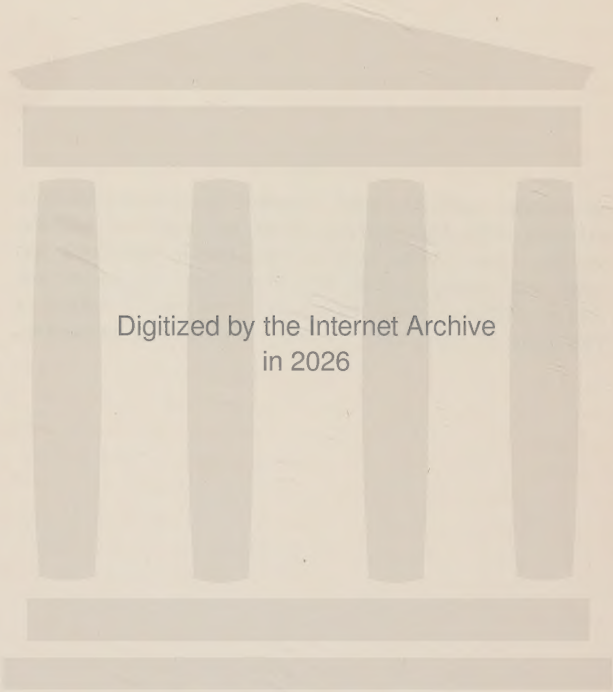
TO

MY SISTERS, MARY ANN RICE, FRANCES RICE CROSBY, ISABELLA STURTON RICE, AND MARTHA LOUISA RICE, AND MY MOTHER, RACHEL LISTON RICE, WHO BY SELF-SACRIFICING LOVE TOO DEEP FOR WORDS THREW OPEN THE GATES OF LIFE TO ME, AND MY SISTER, VIRGINIA RICE GODLEY, WHO WAS A FRIEND IN THE HOUR OF NEED, THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.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FOREWORD

The author is trying to do four things in this book: First, to trace in broad outline the growth of the Old Testament, so that the untrained mind can think through its evolution. To many people this wonderful collection of booklets has little meaning as a whole. It is a confused and confusing mass of heterogeneous materials. Yet it came gradually out of the unfolding life of the Hebrews and the order of its coming is now well understood by those familiar with modern scholarship. That order is suggested in the bird's-eye view given in the Table of Contents and exhibited in the pages that follow.

Another end in view is the shifting of attention from texts and verses to men and books. We miss the power of this literature by minute dissection. Great truths are often here set forth, whole situations summed up, in single sentences of concrete gripping epigrams, brilliant paragraphs drive home telling messages, but even these can be fully appreciated only by understanding their historic origin and larger context. The Old Testament is not a collection of texts but a series of books of life. In these rather than in detailed verses are to be found God's words to men.

Yet another difficulty in the way of the largest use of the Scriptures is the distance from us of the world out of which they came. We may not see at first glance that they are dealing with questions we ourselves are now grappling with. The Prophets, for example, were fighting the very same battles now engaging the noblest weapons of the best social reformers.

A brilliant novelist, the story goes, was addressing a preachers' meeting in the west recently and read a quo-

tation to them, with the request that those who would not put a man in jail for saying that hold up their hands. One or two hands went up. He said perhaps they did not understand the question and repeated it. Four hands went up. He then showed them that he was reading from the Greek text of James! One of the specifications in a charge of sedition against an American now on trial in the northwest is the publication of an arraignment of the government which happens to be an exact quotation without comment from Isaiah! The author has been at pains, even at the risk of criticism for too much preaching, to point out how these ancient men of God are walking our streets, challenging social wrongs, pleading for social righteousness; how God is seeking to do for us what He sought to do for His people of old.

And finally, it is hoped that this interpretation may bring relief to some who are still distressed about the results of scientific biblical criticism. We stand here on the Rock of Ages. Inspiration is a vital process. No change in the time-spirit or in the thought world can ever move us. We welcome as helpers the pioneers in every field of research. The new knowledge only makes faith easier. The Old Testament thus understood leads logically up to the New and not only warrants but inspires the most passionate evangelism. For it breaks our bondage to the letter and replaces our shackles with wings. "The truth shall make you free."

My warmest thanks are due to my teacher and friend, Professor J. M. Powis Smith, Ph. D., of the University of Chicago, for reading the manuscript and making valuable suggestions, to my wife for verifying the references, for help in the criticism of literary forms and in countless other ways which made this book possible, and to The Macmillan Company for extraordinary courtesies.

JOHN A. RICE.

Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas, June 4th, 1920.

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INTRODUCTION

That the Old Testament is a great body of literature subject to the canons of literary interpretation, has come at last to be generally recognized. Let us survey briefly some of the underlying principles involved in its scientific study.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to ask in the beginning what the theme of the Bible is. This question would seem to be superfluous, and yet wrong answers to it have tracked the course of the church through history in blood and tears, and until recently was a menace to freedom of inquiry even in Protestantism.

Its theme was once supposed to be all truth and every aspect of truth was predetermined by its pronouncements. It taught geography, and the sacred map radiated every part of the known world from Jerusalem, the center. It taught meteorology and falling stars, wandering comets, rumbling thunders, flashing lightnings, devastating floods, blighting droughts, earthquakes, cyclones—indeed, anything unusual in nature expressed divine moods, to be changed by Bible prescriptions. It taught chemistry and physics, and its supposed magic passed for science. It taught hygiene and medicine. Only a few years ago, a friend of mine in Alabama was called out at midnight to find the passage of Scripture that would, if read aloud, stop the blood for a woman whose tooth had been extracted the day before. It taught philology, the origin of language and languages. It taught political economy, and its laws of trade, commerce, and industry were final. It taught astronomy and geology, and the processes by which the heavens above and the earth below came into being,

as well as their structure, could be determined only by revelation. It taught chronology, and the hour of creation was actually fixed at nine o'clock in the morning on the 23d of October, 4004 B. C., at least one thousand years after the development of two great civilizations, whose annals have now come out of their ancient graves to help confiscate our little systems that have had their day. It taught biology, and the genesis of all life was supposed to be described in detail. It taught anthropology, and the exact method of creation was read into the sacred page. It taught history, and every item of the infallible record was understood to have been dictated verbally, even in English according to many, by Omniscience to inerrant scribes.

At every stage of this tragic story the whole truth of revelation and redemption was made to depend upon the absolute infallibility of each and every one of these interpretations. "Falsus in uno, Falsus in omnibus," was the slogan. Even so great a scholar as Mr. Wesley thought that we had as well give up the Bible as to give up witchcraft. But the growth of the historic and scientific spirit has routed the church, at the point of the bayonet, from one after another of these positions and forced a more vital approach to the Scriptures. Has that spirit helped us to find such an approach, or are we to go on henceforth, as hitherto, changing from position to position with advancing knowledge? Is there no stable principle that will hold in spite of all variations in the time-spirit?

Suppose we empty our minds of all preconceptions and read, as we would any other literature, the first few chapters of Genesis. What would we understand these chapters to be talking about? What would appear to be their character and purpose? Would it not be that God is here described poetically as preparing the universe for man and man for the universe; that man is intimately related to God and his fellow man? Is not

the central theme of these stories morals and religion? Is not everything else secondary and relatively unimportant? Would that not appear also to be the central theme of every other section of this library? Have we not here, then, the key to the real purpose and meaning of the Old Testament? Take an illustration from Jesus. He called the mustard seed less than all seeds, and yet anybody knows that there are scores of seeds much smaller. Is His statement, therefore, untrue? If He was teaching botany, yes. If He was illustrating the growth of the kingdom from a small beginning to world proportions, no.

If the theme of the Bible be morals and religion, how can there be any conflict between it and science? The real battle has never been between science and religion but between science and theology, or really between a pseudo-science and a pseudo-theology, both often forsaking their proper fields to fight on ground alien to both. It has never been God's word versus His works but an interpretation of the one against an interpretation of the other. The only points of adjustment lie along the border of the psychological world where science is only now beginning to achieve established results. It might be possible for dogmatic religion and dogmatic science to clash here but the real Christian spirit will at once compel such an attitude on both sides, as that each will find the other a handmaid indeed. There need be no bitter antagonism, for how can the Ten Commandments conflict with the multiplication table, geology with the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms with Boyle's law? What has the age of the world to do with the parable of the Prodigal Son? What has evolution to do with the Sermon on the Mount? How can a comet clash with the cross? Nor are we particularly concerned about agreements between science and the Bible. How can the binomial theorem agree with the Beatitudes? How can astrophysics agree with justification by faith?

The laws of optics with the love of God? Physiology with the witness of the spirit? We may well distrust alike the worth of the harmonist and the disharmonist.

Morals and religion, then, are the peculiar and exclusive theme of the Bible, but this does not imply that the Bible is a system even of morals and religion. It is the record of revelations made by God of Himself to the Hebrew people, setting forth the meaning and value of existence, the providential purposes and redeeming efforts of God. These revelations were not primarily of truths or even of truth, but of Himself, of a person to persons. The Bible is, therefore, not a text-book on theology, not even a treatise on religion. It is a record of experience, the experience of the life of God in the souls of men, of men scattered over a thousand years, in some cases distanced from each other by a thousand miles; and yet they are bound together by a common spirit, a common attitude towards the fundamentals of life, a common realistic touch with God. And God always takes the initiative, always moves upon man rather than man upon Him, as in all other sacred books. He is searching for men rather than men for Him. He descends to their levels to lift them to His own supernal heights.

We are living in the midst of a changing world. We think of nothing as our fathers did. The atom, for example, once thought to be the least indivisible particle of matter, is now found to embosom countless thousands of electrons moving with unthinkable speed and power. We no longer live in a static world. All things are in motion. Everything is in a whirl. The whole universe is now thought of as a process, an endless ongoing out of an infinite past into an infinite future; not a crystal but a fluid, a turbulent stream of everlasting becoming. We are opening up not only the world of the infinitely small but also that of the infinitely great. Abraham

could see only three to five thousand stars at the most, while we have seen and mapped thirty millions of suns not unlike our own, each the center of a system, giving us a universe of three hundred million worlds all in action.

In the midst of this changing order, can religion alone be fixed, conceived in final form? Does not history show that religion to be vital must be conceived in terms of contemporary thought and feeling? Is it not necessary, in other words, that each generation shall rediscover and reinterpret God, just as it does everything else, in the light of its new knowledge? Has not all dogma a social origin? Has not the atonement, for example, been interpreted in terms first of sacrifice, then of feudalism and after Anselm of autocratic government? Are we not now waiting for some one to interpret it in terms of democracy?

An enlarging conception of God requires a changing conception of the Bible. When we understand the Bible to deal with religion and our conception of religion to be subject to the changing time-spirit, we get upon a sure foundation. The changeless law of change does not involve the substance of religion, but its forms. Changing the methods by which faith thinks and works—change of faith itself indeed—is not loss of faith. The Bible becomes far more vital when thought of as the greatest of all books of religious experience.

It is important for the correct understanding of any literature that we appreciate its literary form. Is it prose or poetry? Is it simple narrative or epic? Is it parable or allegory? Is it drama, elegy, idyl, lyric, essay, oration, epistle? Nowhere do we need a keener literary sense than in some parts of the Bible. Even the Lord's Prayer, which is beautiful poetry, beginning in heaven, running the scale of human need and ending, is not without its literary difficulties. The first paragraph may be read:

"Our Father, who art in Heaven,
Hallowed be thy name,
Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done,
As in Heaven, so in earth."

Or:

"Our Father, who art in Heaven,
Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come.
Thy will be done,
As in Heaven, so in earth."

The question, of course, is whether the last line must be read with the three preceding or only with the one immediately before it; whether we petition for the hallowing of His name, the coming of His kingdom, and the doing of His will, all as in Heaven so on earth, or only for the doing of His will in Heaven so on earth. The value of Joshua's command to the sun to stand still depends upon whether it is prose or poetry. Understood as prose, insurmountable difficulties at once arise; conceived as poetry, it is true and surpassingly beautiful.

There is also a larger unity in every book that must be grasped. A friend of mine has put the habits of some of us rather graphically, when he charges that we know the Bible as the hog knows the pasture. He knows where to go to find acorns, we, where to find texts. The book of Job is a good illustration. At the end, what the friends have been saying is pronounced false, while Job is said to have spoken what is true. If we have been accustomed to take the speeches of these friends as inspired and infallible, we are in the awkward position of accepting what is later denied. It is said that a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, in a decision still on record, wrote: "The highest authority in the world says 'all that a man hath will he give for his life.'" Now this "highest authority in the world" turns out to be

the Satan, for he is the one that said it (Job 2:4). The same is true of Ecclesiastes. Matthew's Gospel is best appreciated by remembering that it is an argument put in story form. The work of Paul had resulted in disturbing many people. They had not started out to throw overboard their ancient rites. Salvation by faith alone seemed to take out the foundations and leave the Jew in no better position than the rest of mankind. This book begins in the narrow circle of Judaism, and moves steadily forward by a well-arranged plan, showing that Jesus began His career within the bosom of the chosen people, offered Himself to them as their promised Messiah, was finally rejected by them and put to death; rose from the dead and commissioned His followers to make disciples of all the nations. The broadening of the church, therefore, to take in all men, was God's original purpose. This cannot be fully realized until we reach the climax in the Great Commission.

Another item in the thorough study of literature is the use of literary materials. Coming to the New Testament again, take the preface to Luke's Gospel with Professor Burton's analysis of it: " 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.' From this statement we are enabled to glean the following facts of interest and significance: (a) When the evangelist wrote there were already in existence several narratives of the life of Jesus, more or less complete. (b) These narratives were based, at least in the intention of their writers, on the oral narratives of the life of Jesus which proceeded from the

personal companions of Jesus, men who had witnessed the events from the beginning, and from the beginning had been ministers of the word, servants of the gospel. It is suggested at least that there was a somewhat definite body of such oral narrative. (c) In its scope this oral gospel was coincident with the public life of Jesus. 'They who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' are one class, not two; this phrase cannot mean, 'Those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses' and 'those who were ministers of the word.' From the beginning must therefore mean from the beginning of Jesus' ministry, not of His life, and the implication is that that which these transmitted was that which they knew. (d) These previous gospels nevertheless left something to be desired in respect of completeness or accuracy; our author recognizes a need for a book different from those of his predecessors. (e) Our evangelist does not himself belong to the circle of eyewitnesses, but to those to whom the eyewitnesses transmitted their testimony. (f) Yet neither is he far removed from them; though others have preceded him in writing, he classes himself with those to whom the testimony of the eyewitnesses was delivered, and even associates himself under the pronoun 'us' with those among whom the events of Jesus' life occurred, thus intimating that these events fell within his own time. (g) He had access, therefore, not only to these other writings, but to that living oral testimony from which these other writers drew. (h) He had made painstaking investigation respecting the material of his narrative, having searched all things out from the beginning. (i) He had in view in writing, not those to whom the history of Jesus was unknown, but those who had already been taught orally. Observe the significant testimony thus indirectly borne that it was the habit of the church, even at this early day, to teach the life of Christ, and the clear indication that this gospel at least was not for

unbelievers, but for believers. (j) His object in writing is to furnish his reader an entirely trustworthy record of the life of Jesus, an historical basis of faith." If these were the methods of the New Testament writers, we ought not to be surprised to find evidence of like uses of sources in the Old Testament. That the prophets appropriated all existing materials without giving credit, is shown by the fact that Isaiah II. and Micah IV. contain the same passages. So do Jeremiah LIX. 17–22 and Obadiah. Many other illustrations might be given of the habit of these ancient writers to use current traditions, ideas and customs, superstitions, myths, legends and folk lore as well as existing documents in the composition of their books. The dependance of Chronicles upon Kings for example. That there are Bibles back of and within our Bible, no real scholar will now deny.

All literature comes out of life. Browning describes the old yellow book as having been

"Secreted from man's life when hearts beat hard."

Peoples live, then think, then write. Literature in its earlier forms is largely folk lore, gathering up what primitive eyes have seen in the world about them. It is not written down until later. Only with maturer thought does writing appear. This is exemplified in the Negro race. They waited for Mr. Harris, the immortal friend of little children, to record all their fathers knew.

Epoch-making authors are the creatures rather than the creators of their epochs, social outcomes rather than social causes. They interpret the foibles and vices, the vagaries and fancies, as well as the aspirations and ideals, the joys and sorrows, the trials and triumphs of those they seek to lead to higher things.

Literature as an interpretation of life is well exemplified in the Sixteenth Century when the awakening of the human spirit is voiced in England by Shakespeare, in

France by Montaigne, in Italy by Tasso, in Spain by Cervantes. Six plays, it is said, have been written on the theme of Antony and Cleopatra. So were the themes of Julius Cæsar, Romeo and Juliet, Timon of Athens, engaging the pens of all Western Europe. In the Seventeenth Century Milton portrayed the spirit of the revolution in his greatest character, the magnificent Satan. The artificial life of the Eighteenth is reflected in Pope. Tennyson in the Nineteenth interprets for us the new scientific spirit suffused with the abiding religious instinct and experience; while Browning sings the survival of faith over the re-examined and re-established historic foundations of Christianity; and Ruskin enforces the growing recognition of noblesse oblige. The deepening social note of the Twentieth is voiced by such preachers as Mr. Wells and the religious unrest by such as Mr. Churchill; both by the poets of today. The Bible likewise came out of religion rather than religion out of the Bible. Its books are red hot messages through red hot hearts to red hot situations, seeking to interpret the deeper meaning of life and experience in the light of the ultimate purposes of God, seeking to bring the rebellious and unmanageable into line with those purposes; seeking above all, to bring God Himself into personal and social consciousness. It often happened, therefore, that those who interpreted the times were in relentless opposition to the times, that the time-spirit and the Holy Spirit were in conflict, and that conflict produced the literature of the hour.

The stream of the life of God flowing through the soul of the Hebrew race expressed itself in at least five literary movements, and deposited as many types of literature in the Old Testament.

The first of these is the prophetic. The history of Israel is one long series of crises and at every crisis there stands a man as the mouthpiece of God, not a foreteller primarily but a forthteller,—one who sees the signs of

the times and tells what he sees, who hears God speak and tells what he hears. Priesthood and Ritual were the abiding institutions in Israel, and when the prophet waned, the priest came to the fore, and interpreted, in the forms in which we now have it, the past, present and future in terms of law, ritual and the cult.

While the prophet with his mission to the State was preaching righteousness, and the priest with his mission to the Church was formulating the code, the sage was slowly coming towards his own, with a message not to the State, nor to the Church, but to the individual of every race and in every place. They gave us such philosophy as the Jew was able to produce.

Meanwhile the establishment of the religious community in place of the fallen nation called for hymns to be used in the worship of the Temple, and the Psalms were collected and afterward completed as Israel's hymn book.

The last type of literature to be developed was the apocalyptic as exemplified in Daniel. Crushed under the heel of relentless oppression, despairing of the present and looking to the future, despairing of earth and turning to heaven, of the human and appealing to the divine, the apocalyptic vision pictures for weary hearts the ultimate grinding out of the world machine and the final bringing in, with a mighty cataclysm, of a new social order in which Jehovah's avenged people will rule the world in righteousness and peace.

This collection of booklets, mostly anonymous, touches the whole range of human interest and experience, and is suffused with every type of emotion, from the most subtle humor to the deepest pathos. Its psychological interpretations are perfect, its art forms are true to life. Every literary device known to the Semites is employed.

To feel the full power of any part of the Bible, it is necessary to read it in the light of its historic origin and

purpose. To understand Lincoln's Gettysburg speech requires a knowledge of the history back of it. Suppose a Chinaman, familiar with English, but ignorant of Southern history, lands at New Orleans and sees in the morning paper that a great mass meeting will convene in Washington Artillery Hall that night, at which, among other things, "Dixie," whose words are printed, will be sung. He reads it and wonders why such words are so honored. He attends and sees five thousand people go wild the moment it is struck up. He is surprised at their folly. To him it is nothing but a jingle and a hurrah. Now let him live among the Southern people until he can feel the thrill of Confederate traditions; then let him go to a reunion of Veterans, and when the first note is struck, he joins ten thousand men and women from the East and the West, the North and the South, who "take their stand in Dixieland." Is it the same poetry, the same music? Yes, so far as it can be written down. But there is immeasurably more in it than the printed words can tell. The soul of an era is there. "In quietness and in confidence, shall be your strength" is a great expression of faith, but it becomes far greater when we remember the tense situation and stirring times in which Isaiah uttered these noble words. Scholars have so opened up the ancient world to us that we can sit beside our inspired authors, look out upon the world through their windows, see the pressing problems they were seeking to solve, and even feel their warm breath on our cheeks. We can realize now, as never before, the divine human power with which they spoke.

Coming out of the life of the Hebrew people, the Old Testament is subject to and reflects the limitations and progress of their experience as well as the racial and personal equations of the writers. The Psalms could never have been attributed to Solomon, nor the Proverbs to David. Paul was the poet of the city, and saw but little beyond city walls. Jesus was the poet of the country,

and reveled in forests, fields, and flowers; insects, birds, and animals; mountains, hills, and valleys; sunshine and clouds; whistling winds and roaring floods. He felt the shepherd's tender care, now with his flocks within the fold, now leading them out to green pastures and beside still waters, now on the cold, dark mountains in search of the lost, now in the fellowship of the happy home-coming. He rejoiced in the vineyard, the vine-dressing, and the vintage. He appreciated the plow-man's toil and the sower's task as well as the rural housewife's daily problems. And

> "'Twas his to hear, on summer eves,
> The reaper's song among the sheaves."

For all truth hurries to the heart to which it belongs, and will go to no other.

The contrast between the Semitic and the Aryan mind would lead us to expect like difference in their thought products. The Aryan has strength, vigor, accuracy, discrimination which make possible definite expressions in form, which gives us art; and in language, which results in science. They make possible also organizations in family, State, nation, and give us law and government. Their synthetic powers have worked out our philosophy. There is in the Semite, on the contrary, "a yearning after dreamy ease, a strange and ever present shiftlessness, a striking combination of pliability and iron fixity, a spirit of unity and simplicity which make complexity and combination impossible, an idealism that controls life and thought." These made the Semite the religious genius of mankind, and put behind all he did a religious background. Even his philosophy, such as he had, was the reverse of the Greek, who moved upstream in search of God at the source, while he started with God at the source and moved downstream, seeing God everywhere. The Greek took the whole of things and tried to analyze them, which

process resulted in "a God without a world and a world without a God"; the Hebrew conceived the whole of things as vitally in touch with and immediately created and controlled by God, who was everywhere unavoidable. The Greek was coldly intellectual; the Hebrew passionately religious. The Greek's philosophy was a carefully wrought out system; the Hebrew's a deeply lived out experience. He showed

> That "life is not as idle ore,
> But iron dug from central gloom,
> And heated hot with burning fears,
> And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
> And battered with the shock of doom
> To shape and use."

To him everything was personal, even the thunder was God's voice, and nature but the mantle He threw around Him.

The ancient Semites have given us little great epic poetry, unless Job be so classed; no science, no body of fiction, no painting or sculpture, no real philosophy, no government organization; but they have given the world its three greatest religions—Judaism, Mohammedanism and its final one, Christianity, and that is enough for any people.

Revelation and its record are affected not only by the personal and racial equation but also by the knowledge and experience of the periods in which its several parts were produced. The growth of religious ideas depends upon the development of the people in general culture. Where there is successful teaching there must be not only an efficient teacher but also capable pupils. Even Omniscience adapts what it tells to the capacity and needs of those who hear. We need not to be surprised, therefore, if we find the ancient Hebrews not unlike ourselves, misunderstanding God, misinterpreting the signs of the times.

Inspiration is attested, not by eradicating all error at once, but by taking a motley mass of Bedouin as they are, and gradually lifting them to divine levels. It ought not to offend us if cruel crime is practiced in the name of religion and with the claim of divine sanction. Nor should we be shocked to hear a primitive people sing, even in their sanctuaries:

> "O daughter of Babylon
> Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy
> little ones against a rock."

It is a far call from this to Micah's "What doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" further still to the Saviour's setting a little child in their midst.

Progress in the conception of religious fundamentals is easily perceptible through the Old Testament. In the earliest period God is little more than the head of a tribe, living on Mount Sinai, riding on the clouds on His chariot, over to Palestine to fight the battles of His people, and then going back home. He is a war God. But the idea of Him advanced, enriched at every stage, till Jehovah, with infinite attributes, rules in righteousness and glorious majesty high over all. Man is at first valued in terms of the tribe, then of the nation; and at the fall of the nation, the individual arose over the ruins, supreme in his own integrity and charged with inalienable responsibilities, to find his social self at last in world relations.

So with ethical ideas. Duty is first national, then individual, then social; the emphasis shifting from generation to generation. Moral actions were at first external, then inward, then carried to spiritual heights. Sin was, in the beginning, failure as a nation to please the Deity. Then it was missing the mark, and finally voluntary violation of fundamental principles. Authority was at first oracular, then a set of rules, and at last universal principles. At first morality was obedience to

a Sovereign Power, then compliance with a rigid routine, culminating in getting into harmony with the laws of the universe. There was never more than a small appreciation of international ethics, but within Israel their sense of obligation was both "altruistic" and "theocentric," recognizing God always and everywhere, and having regard even for the dumb animals.

Worship at first was very crude and simple. An altar was made of rough, unhewn stones on hill tops, or under green trees, wherever family, community or tribe wanted one. A small house would be built near by to keep the utensils and implements in. It was a sort of country church. Later a central tabernacle or royal sanctuary was built. Later still the country churches were all closed up and the people compelled to worship at the central sanctuary. The temple was rebuilt and a more elaborate ritual provided. Meanwhile, the priest, who was at first a sort of janitor, later head man at the sacrifice, developed into a regular hierarchy, with an elaborate system of duties and privileges, and codes covering the practical life of the people.

Perhaps the most interesting of all is the conception of redemption and the future life. At first trembling shades of disembodied spirits huddle together in a dark and dismal cavern in the bowels of the earth,—the wretched Sheol, where small and great, good and bad alike, drag out a forlorn existence; where there is no remembrance, even of God. Then there shall be a resurrection of the nation, and at last the individual will come back in flesh and blood to enjoy the messianic kingdom forever. In Israel, as everywhere, the old often survives and appears along with the new.

But you ask: If the Bible is to be understood as teaching only moral and spiritual truth, and its moral and spiritual conceptions are so unequal, so variable, where is the ultimate standard of values? Are we not left to the caprices of individual judgment and personal pref-

erence? And are we not plunged into hopeless confusion? Let us be reminded that on any theory of interpretation there is nowhere in the Old Testament a sense of finality; there is everywhere that of incompleteness which carries us beyond itself. The greatest apologetic experiences a Christian minister has, are felt in trying to preach to the Jews in their own temple. One feels himself swept irresistibly beyond the circle of ideas in which they are living. We get to final truth only in the Christ, who is the fulfillment, not so much of detailed predictions as of ideas and ideals, not so much of what He was to do as of what He was to be, to realize, to suggest, to symbolize; not so much of the externals of the kingdom as of the spirit He was to enthrone in society. Has the Old Testament, then, been confiscated by Him? Do we no longer need it "for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for discipline which is in righteousness?"

Its pedagogical value will never cease as long as human nature endures. It is as indispensable now as it was in the First Century to bring us to a full appreciation of the Christ. In it we trace the genesis and growth of the spiritual life which in the fullness of time He fulfilled; without it men can never intelligently come to Him. It sounds the soul's abysmal deeps, penetrates its subtle mysteries, explores its measureless areas, catches its shifting moods, and turns its restless tides homeward.

But what is the test of finality in Him? The best test of any truth is the inconceivability of its opposite or contradictory. Those conceptions must stand supreme with us all, which embody the highest ideals we can think. The finality of Jesus is to be found, therefore, in the ultimate things among which He "lived and moved and had His being," in the viewpoint, attitude, and spirit which were His, and the power with which He lived out spiritual realities. For He is indeed the contemporary of all ages, the citizen of all climes, the ideal of all races, the inspiration of all classes, the brother of

all men. His God must be to us final because we cannot conceive one higher than our Father in heaven. His conception of man as the child of God, heir to all the riches of the Father, must be held supreme since we can conceive none beyond; His ethics, the science of brotherly love, and His type of society, a universal brotherhood in which each lives in fellowship with the Father and in fraternal service to others, must be accepted as the goal of all our yearnings and social efforts until a better can be found. His method of redemption by love alone is rapidly coming to the fore as our only hope for the lost. His method of worship—a free spirit worshipping the Father in spirit and truth—cannot be surpassed, nor can we get beyond His outlook upon the future life: the righteous risen to eternal fellowship in the kingdom of the undefiled, the unrighteous left out. He is the divine, human goal upon whom all the lines of progress of the Old Testament converge, in whom alone all the great ideas of the Old Testament—in themselves incomplete—find fulfillment. Nowhere else do we reach such a satisfying sense of finality as in Jesus. Above Him we can see nothing.

But when all that is said, we must still come back to the simple truth that He feeds the undying hungers of the human spirit, hungers for health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, the beautiful, righteousness, God. He is the Bread of Life. The unspoiled heart of every type in every clime would spontaneously exclaim with Gilder:

> "Thou Christ, my soul is hurt and bruised,
> With words the scholars wear me out;
> My mind o'wearied and confused,
> Thee, and myself, and all I doubt.
>
> And must I back to darkness go
> Because I cannot say their creed?
> I know not what I think; I know
> Only Thou art what I need."

Every book must be judged in the light of its purpose. A book on chemistry must be held responsible for chemistry and nothing else. There might be errors in history, philosophy, religion, any other field of human interest, but these count for little if it is a masterpiece on chemistry. So the Bible must be judged in the light of its purpose, which is to bring God and men into such satisfying relations with each other as that they shall work together in blessed fellowship for the creation of a new social order characterized by righteousness, peace and the joy of holy living over all the earth. Should errors in history, science, philosophy or in any other field of inquiry be found, they need not disturb us. The infallibility of our inspired book depends not upon these things, but rather upon the effective achieving of the end it sought and still seeks. That it has always accomplished this purpose, and accomplishes it still, none can deny. Here we meet Him face to face and find rest unto our souls. Then all nature

> "Witnessing, murmurs, persistent and low,
> 'E'en so, it is so.'".

And the message of this book, thus completed in Him who embodied all that went before and determined all that came after, is self-authenticating. Our first task is to bring it out of its ancient environment into our modern life, and feel its constant contact with the burning questions of our day. Its writers are living men, now actually walking our streets, sharing our struggles and seeking to help us solve our problems. To feel the force of this truth is to come under the spell of the greatest possible apologetic for the Old Testament. Not until all the sacred books of the ancient world, so rapidly coming to light, have been carefully interpreted, analyzed and classified, can the solitariness of the Bible be externally set forth. But the one argument that all can feel and none entirely escape is that of Coleridge:

"It finds me"; yes more, it ought to find me. Its appeal is like that of music, of painting, of sculpture, of architecture, to the finer instincts of the human spirit. With these, it rests its case. It does not need to be defended; it needs only to be understood, to be appreciated as containing the word of God, not only for centuries long passed but for this and the ages yet to come.

There are a few great trunk line truths that traversed the universe in the olden times, that are here still and will be here forever. The Old Testament interprets for us some of these and shows us how to work in harmony with them, shows us above all how to live in fellowship with God, whose mind they declare and whose ultimate purpose they point out.

The real power of the Bible over life can neither be increased nor decreased by any arguments or devices of men. You can no more create or destroy gravitation than increase or decrease its divine efficacy with mere critical apparatus, except in so far as that apparatus reveals its spirit and aims. Its authority is out of the reach of its enemies and above the help of its friends.

The penalty of failure to get its message is self-inflicting and Wordsworth's lines apply to the dullard here as well as in nature:

"A primrose on the river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

Turner was once showing one of his gorgeous pictures to a superficial woman, when she said: "Oh, I don't see all that in nature." He replied, "Don't you wish you could?" and walked away, leaving her in her helplessness. "If ye will to do, ye shall know;" if not, never.

What the "Hibbert Journal" says of religion may be said also of the Bible, the world's greatest religious book, the world's most powerful expression of the religious life and experience:

"The spirit that is in religion is that of uncompromising loyalty to the highest. Its fealty is entire, and requires no confirmation by oath. It lives in the whole, loves the whole with a patriot's devotion, and passes into utterance, or into action, with the felt strength of the universe at its back. Religion stands by a cause; but this rests on no reasoning, for it is the cause of Reason itself. Religion is not afraid of its future, suffers from no sense of insecurity, and speaks in language that is at once triumphant and serene. Religion, therefore, does not apologize for itself, does not stand on the defensive, does not justify its presence in the world. If theorists vindicate religion, they may do so; but religion comes forth in the majesty of silence, like a mountain amid the lifting mists. All the strong things of the world are its children; and whatever strength is summoned to its support is the strength which its own spirit has called into being. Religion never excuses its attitude, and when at last a voice is lifted up, it simply chants the faith, until the deaf ears are unstopped and the dead in spirit come out of their graves to listen."

PART ONE

BEGINNINGS

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIFE OF TODAY

I

Poetic Fragments

(1400–1000 B. C.)

Anyone reading the earlier Books of the Old Testament in a Revised Version, will note poetic fragments scattered here and there. The first of these is the Song of the Sword (Gen. 4:23 f.):

> "And Lamech said unto his wives:
> Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
> For I have slain a man for wounding me,
> And a young man for bruising me:
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold."

Here we have an ancient folk song boasting arrogantly of the possession of weapons and of constant preparedness for blood revenge. "This little three-verse song is already stamped with all the marks of Hebrew poetry—precise parallelism between the two halves of each verse, exalted, rhythmical language, and the use of special words belonging to the dialect of poetry."

The Song of Triumph (Ex. 15:1 f.) celebrates the passage of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Egyptians. It is probably a later re-working of an old battle song current among the people. The Smiting of the Rock by Moses (Ex. 17:6 f.) was probably also originally a

popular poem. The devotion of Israel to Jehovah and the symbols of His presence among them is enthusiastically set forth in the lines spoken at the taking up and setting down of the Ark (Num. 10:35 f.). The Song of the Well (Num. 21:17 f.) describes the enthusiasm of the community at the finding or dedicating of a well in the desert. The much quoted outburst of Joshua over his conquest of the Amorites (Jos. 10:12,13) is a superb poetic expression of his faith in God. The greatest of all the battle songs is that of Deborah (Jdgs. 5). It comes bubbling out of the heart of heroic struggle with all the rugged power of primitive verse. The word-painting particularly in v. 22 is so powerful that you can hear the clatter of the hoofs of the wild running horses. The poem gives us a wonderful insight into the history, particularly the religious conditions of the time. The people are oppressed, reduced to forty thousand capable of bearing arms but having none. The roads are deserted, because unsafe, till Deborah raises the battle cry, among the northern tribes. Judah is not mentioned. Reuben is reproved. Yahweh is a god of battle. He left Mt. Sinai, his holy dwelling place, to conduct in person the warfare of his people. The ethical standards are not high. Hospitality was violated. The cries of mother love anxiously looking for her son that never would come back, are gloated over. The origin and meaning of the Song of Conquest (Num. 21:27) is not clear. It seems to refer to the conquest of the East Jordan territory before the entrance of Israel into Canaan. Another obscure relic is given in Num. 21:14. Jotham's fable (Jdgs. 9) and Samson's riddle (Jdgs. 14:14 f.) are early examples of the wisdom literature.

"The technical structure of the fable is here found in such perfection and imbued with so fine a sarcasm as to suggest the conjecture that this form of composition must have been long and diligently cultivated."

It is probable that during this period primitive deca-

logues were written, beginning with the Ten Words by Moses and including Exodus 34:14–26. This latter shows marks of settled life and of agriculture as the means of subsistence. The fact that the Decalogue is called the "Ten Words" suggests that perhaps it consisted originally of ten Hebrew words in two pairs of five, put in that form because it was easy to number the two sets of five words counted on the fingers of each hand.

There will be those who will ask at once about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. It should be said, first of all, that the Pentateuch in its present form does not claim to have been written by Moses. We do not meet with this idea until much later. That Moses wrote something is stated in four places. Deut. 31:9, 24, says that the law of Deuteronomy was written by Moses. This, it is supposed, was added by an editor during the exile. Num. 33:2 says that he recorded the names of the stations in the desert. This seems to have been inserted by a Post-Exilic editor. In Ex. 17:14 f., Moses is told to write the discomfiture of the Amalekites "on a leaf." Ex. 24:4 f. seems to show acquaintance with the tradition that Moses himself wrote a book of the Covenant. What this book is, we have no means of knowing. If it referred to the Ten Commandments, then what edition of those Commandments is meant, the one in Ex. 20, Deut. 5, or Ex. 34:14 f., or some other? On the other hand, however, the literary peculiarities and historical references, as well as the general background suggested in the Pentateuch, point to a much later period for its composition.

All these fragments, like the first, bear the characteristic marks of Hebrew poetry. Like the early songs of all primitive peoples, they have to do with things of interest to the simple life of the community, the taunts of one tribe against another, the enthusiasm at finding water, devotion to the symbols of their gods, triumph in battle, ditties sung, fables told, riddles propounded,

often by professional troubadours, or minstrels, around camp fires, at entertainments and popular assemblages.

II

Longer Poems, Battle Songs, Dirges, Parables, Primitive Codes, and Short Stories

(100–850 B. C.)

Poetry has now become somewhat more elaborate. Popular proverbs seem to be current (I. Sam. 10:11 f.; 24:13). The Blessing of Jacob in Gen. 49:1–27 is supposed to have taken its present form about this time. There may have been an earlier edition of it. The original Balaam oracles in Num. 23:24 are assigned here. We have two song books quoted by name supposed to have been issued about this time: The Book of the Upright, quoted as sources, Joshua 10–13, II. Sam. 1:17; and The Book of the Wars of Yahweh, referred to in Num. 21:14. These seem to have been collections of battle hymns and popular poems celebrating the great deeds of heroes.

There is a trustworthy tradition that David was a great musician and poet. We have his dirge on Saul and Jonathan, erroneously called "The Song of the Bow," in II. Sam. 1:17–27. "It has ever been justly recognized as a real pearl of Hebrew poetry. And this is true both of its poetical form and of its contents, at once so simple and so stirring. The almost identical lament at the beginning and at the end serve as a framework for six strophes, each consisting of two verses, with two clauses each. The fifth of them corresponds with the first in fine contrast; the second and fourth utter the actual dirge for the dead; the third sings the praise of the fallen heroes." His elegy on Abner is recorded in II. Sam. 3:33. Seventy-three of the Psalms have been assigned to him by the headlines, but these headlines are of no more

historic value than the headlines in the daily newspaper. They were put there by later hands, and often do not fit the context of the Psalm any more than the newspaper headlines do the contents of the story. It is impossible to say positively how many, if any, Psalms he actually wrote. This question will be taken up in connection with the development of the Psalter. Ancient tradition assigns certain parts of the Book of Proverbs to Solomon. This will be considered in connection with the Wisdom literature. His Hymn of Dedication is given in I. Kgs. 8:12 f.

It is generally conceded that laws are now taking definite form. David's decision regarding the spoil in I. Sam. 30:24 f. has held ever since. Whether the primitive codes in Ex. 13, 20^{23}–23^{19}, 34^{14-26}, originated here or in an earlier period, it seems certain that they are in existence at this time.

Nathan's parable (II. Sam. 12:1–4), which probably belongs to this period, is so perfect as to suggest decided progress in the literary forms used by the Sages.

The Book of Judges is a chain of stories, each given in a complete cycle, telling how the Israelites offended Yahweh, were abandoned by him to their enemies, got into trouble, repented, called upon Yahweh, and were delivered by him through a hero raised up for the purpose. The author seems to have gathered up these stories and put them together for the purpose of impressing upon his people the lesson that unfaithfulness to Yahweh is always punished. He would warn them against the dangers of apostasy. These stories differ in viewpoint, phraseology, and consistency. It is probable that they had been collected in an ancient history of the Judges, back of our Book of Judges bearing that name. The stories themselves are sometimes apparently composite and seem to fall into two general types, one older than the other. The older Book of Judges is supposed to have contained the histories of Ehud (3:30);

Deborah and Barak (5); Gideon (8:38); Abimelech (9:22); Jephthah (12:7); and Samson (15:20); and not improbably also the wonderfully human story of Micah's idols and the migration of the Danites.

The greatest of these heroes is Samuel, who voiced the new Nationalism then arising among the hitherto disorganized tribes. Then follow the stories of Samuel and Saul, of Saul and David, and of David alone, in the Books of Samuel. Samuel seems to have been a sort of old-time circuit rider, the embodiment of a new movement of spiritual power in religion. He went from settlement to settlement apparently preaching, judging the people, and teaching them. We know of such communities at Ramah, Bethel, Gibeah, Jericho, Gilgal, and probably at Carmel. These were all centers of religious activity; guilds of the prophets seem to have been located here. The traditions of the fathers were thus kept alive and used, no doubt, for pedagogical purposes. A professional class of singers and entertainers had arisen who also probably used these materials to interest social gatherings. Many of these stories were thus repeated until finally written down and preserved for us in the stories back of the Books of Judges and Samuel.

III

Pre-Prophetic Narratives

(850–750 B. C.)

The stream of the Divine Life flowing through the soul of the Hebrew people is now gaining volume and power. We have traced the poetic fragments that are back of the earlier Books of the Hexateuch and the later beginnings of literature deposited by this stream down to 850 B. C. It is impossible to give definite dates with certainty. Indeed, nothing more is necessary than to catch the general literary movement in its advancing

stages. We have caught glimpses of the prophetic spirit voiced in the life of Samuel and those that came after him.

We now come upon the Titanic character Elijah (I. Kgs. 17 f.), (875–850), and his successor, Elisha (I. Kgs. 19:19 f.), (850–800). It is safe to say that the stories of their careers were probably written down within fifty years after those careers were closed. They are splendid examples of the short story so popular in the earlier period. Whatever detailed historical value may be attached to them, this much is beyond question, that they show the impression made by these moral giants upon the people of their day. Elijah was called out by the threatened danger of merging Yahwehism into Baalism, resulting in a religious Syncretism. Elijah faced Ahab and the Prophets of Baal with the demand for definite choice in religion. It had been supposed that the god was a member of the tribe and that he could not, therefore, alienate the tribe, nor was it necessary that he should be chosen. This was an advance of decided value. He faced this king again in Naboth's vineyard, presenting the claims of right against might, of the masses against the classes. It was nothing new for a king to confiscate the property of his people, but it was new for him to be denounced for it by a representative of the people. This impression of growing moral enthusiasm is destined to play an important rôle during the centuries to follow. Elisha was in every respect the opposite of his master and predecessor. It was his mission to complete the work of Elijah. These men were in a high sense the conscience of their era. The story of Elisha was probably written down considerably later than that of Elijah. They both are presented as living in a realm of marvels.

Another deposit of this spiritual movement belonging to the century 850–750, is the great Judean narrative embodied in the Hexateuch. An intelligent reader with

open eyes cannot fail to detect a sudden change in passing from Gen. 1:1–24a to 2:4b–4:26. The second section repeats the story of creation in a different order, in a different literary style, suggesting a different background and a different circle of ideas, as well as a different phraseology. In the first story, there is a superabundance of water; in the second, drouth prevails until a mist went up from the earth; in the first story man and woman are created apparently equal; in the second, woman is made of a rib taken from man's side, evincing thus a conception of her dependence upon him as contrasted with the idea of equality. In the first section, God creates by speaking; in the second, He fashions man's body with His hands and breathes into him the breath of life; in the first, the style is "ornate, measured, precise, and particular phrases frequently recur;" it is dignified and smells somewhat of the lamp; in the second, it is free, simple, and naïve—a few telling strokes, and the picture stands out in consummate beauty. In the first story, God is invisible, His spirit brooding over the face of the waters; in the second, He is a big man coming down in the cool of the evening to investigate the progress of His new enterprise. He plants, brings, closes up, takes, sets, builds, etc. He walks around in the garden and lectures the disobedient pair. He makes the serpent hitherto walking on end, to crawl henceforth on its stomach. In the first section, His name is Elohim; in the second, Yahweh Elohim or Yahweh. The background of the first fits Babylon with its flood stories; of the second, Palestine with its drouth. The difference in these two sections reappears time and again, more or less fully, through the Hexateuch, and, it is now supposed, through Judges, Samuel, and Kings also.

There are two explanations of the origin of the name Isaac (17:16–19 and 18:9–15), two accounts of the reason for Jacob's leaving home (27:46–28[9] and 27:1–45),

two accounts of the origin of the name Bethel (28^{19} and 35^{15}), two of Israel (32^{28} and 35^{10}), two accounts of Esau (32^{3}, 33^{16}, and 36^{6f}). Not only are there duplicates all through these earlier Books, but the stories often differ in substance. In the first account of the Deluge, for example, it is stated that two of every living thing of all flesh shall be carried into the Ark (6:19); in the second (7:1–5), seven of a sort are to be taken.

The three documents as dissected out by Kent ("The Beginnings of Hebrew History") may be illustrated in the following parallel accounts of the same events:

Jacob's Departure to Aram

(Gen. 27:41–28:9)

Early Judean (*J*)	*Ephraimitic Prophetic* (*E*)	*Late Priestly* (*P*)
Then Esau said to himself, The days of mourning for my father are near, then will I slay my brother Jacob. But when the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah, she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said to him, Behold your brother Esau will avenge himself upon you by killing you. Flee to Laban my brother at Haran, until your brother's anger turn away from you.	Then Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing with which his father had blessed him; and Rebekah knew it, and told Jacob and said, Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice and arise, *flee to Laban* and remain with him a short time until your brother's wrath turn away from you and he forget what you have done to him. Then I will send and bring you thence; why should I be bereaved of you both in one day?	So Isaac sent away Jacob, and he went to Paddan-aram to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, the mother of Jacob and Esau. Now when Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife from thence, and that, as he blessed him, he gave him a charge, saying, You shall not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, and that Jacob had obeyed his father and his mother, and had gone to Paddan-aram, and when Esau also saw that the daughters of Canaan did not please Isaac his father, then Esau went to Ishmael, and took, besides the wives that he had, Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife.

The Great Deliverance
(Ex. 14:10–15:21)

Early Judean

And when Pharaoh drew near, the Israelites lifted up their eyes and saw the Egyptians marching after them; and they were exceedingly afraid, and they said to Moses, Was it because there were no graves in Egypt, that you have taken us away to die in the wilderness? why have you dealt thus with us, in bringing us forth out of Egypt? Is not this what we told you in Egypt, when we said, "Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness!" And Moses said to the people, Fear not, stand still and you will see the deliverance which Jehovah will accomplish for you to-day; for as surely as you now see the Egyptians, you shall never see them again forever. Jehovah will fight for you, but you are to keep still.

Then the pillar of cloud changed its position from before them and stood behind them. And the cloud lighted up the night; yet throughout the entire night the one *army* did not come near the other. And Jehovah caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night, and made the bed of the sea dry. And it came to pass in the watch before

Ephraimite Prophetic

Then the Israelites cried out to Jehovah. And Jehovah said to Moses, Wherefore criest thou to me? Lift up thy staff and divide the waters.

Then the Messenger of God, who went before the camp of Israel continually, changed his position and went behind them, so that he came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was darkness. *Then Moses lifted up his staff and the waters divided and Israel went forward into the midst of the sea,* and the Egyptians pursued; but

Late Priestly Narratives

Then Jehovah said to Moses, Command the Israelites, that they go forward, and stretch out thy hand over the sea and divide it, that the Israelites may go into the midst of the sea on dry ground. And then I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them, that I may gain glory for myself through Pharaoh and all his host, through his chariots and his horsemen, and that the Egyptians may know that I am Jehovah, when I have gained glory for myself through Pharaoh, through his chariots and through his horsemen.

Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the waters were divided, so that the Israelites went into the midst of the sea on the dry ground; and the waters were a wall to them on their right hand and on their left. And the Egyptians went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horse-

the dawn that Jehovah looked through the pillar of fire and of cloud upon the host of the Egyptians, and he bound their chariot wheels, so that they proceeded with difficulty. Then the Egyptians said, Let us flee from before Israel; for Jehovah fighteth for them against the Egyptians. But the sea returned to its ordinary level toward morning while the Egyptians were flying before it. And Jehovah shook off the Egyptians into the midst of the sea, so that not one of them remained. Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the power of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore.

Jehovah threw the host of the Egyptians into confusion, and *brought the sea upon them and covered them*. And when Israel saw the great work which Jehovah did upon the Egyptians, the people feared Jehovah, and they believed in Jehovah and in his servant Moses.

men. Then Jehovah said to Moses, Stretch out thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and their horsemen. So Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the waters returned and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea. But the Israelites walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea, the waters being a wall to them on their right hand and on their left.

Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to Jehovah, using these words:

I will sing to Jehovah,
for he is greatly exalted;
The horse and his rider
hath he thrown into the sea.

Then Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a tambourine in her hand; and all the women went out after her with tambourines and with dancing. And Miriam sang to them,

Sing ye to Jehovah,
for he is greatly exalted;
The horse and his rider
hath he thrown into the sea.

Idolatry and Immorality of the Hebrews

(Num. 22:1–25:1–15)

Early Judean

Now the people began to play the harlot with the daughters of Moab; for they called the people to the sacrificial feasts of their god, and the people ate and bowed down to their god. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel. And he said to Moses, Take all the leaders of the people and execute them before the sun that the fierce anger of Jehovah may turn away from Israel.

Ephraimite Prophetic

Now Israel abode in Shittim. And Israel worshipped the Baal of Peor.

And Moses said to the judges of Israel, Let each one slay his men who have worshipped the Baal of Peor.

Late Priestly Narrative

Then the Israelites journeyed and encamped in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho. And, behold, one of the Israelites came and brought to his kinsmen a Midianite woman in the sight of Moses and all the congregation of the Israelites, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation and took a spear in his hand, and went after the man of Israel into the large tent and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel and the woman through the body. So the plague was stayed from the Israelites. And those who died of the plague were twenty-four thousand.

Death of Moses

(Dt. 34)

Then Moses went up to the top of Pisgah. And Jehovah showed him all the land, even Gilead as far as Dan, and all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh and all the land of Judah as far as the Mediterranean, and the South Country, and the Plain of the Valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, as far as Zoar. And Jehovah said

So Moses the servant of Jehovah died there in the land of Moab. And he buried him in the ravine of the land of Moab over against Beth-Peor; but to this day no man knows of his burial-place. And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom Jehovah knew face to face, as regards all the signs and the wonders which Jehovah

Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, which fronts Jericho and died there according to the command of Jehovah. And Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, neither had his natural force abated. And the Israelites wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days; so the days

to him, This is the land which I promised with an oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, 'I will give it to thy descendants;' I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

sent him to do in Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, and as regards all the deeds of power and all the great terror, which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.

of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended.

And Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the Israelites hearkened to him and did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Passage over the Jordan

(Josh. 3:2–5:1)

Later Judean

Then Joshua rose up early in the morning and he and all the Israelites came to the Jordan and spent the night there before they passed over. And Joshua said to the people, Sanctify yourselves, for to-morrow Jehovah will do wonderful things among you. Joshua also said to the Israelites, Come hither and hear the words of Jehovah your God. Then Joshua said, By this you shall know that a living God is among you, and that he will certainly drive out from before you, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth passes over before you into the Jordan. And it shall come to pass when the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Jehovah the Lord of all the earth shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jor-

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Then they removed from Shittim. Now after three days the officers went through the midst of the camp, and commanded the people, saying, When you see the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, and the priests, the Levites, bearing it, then you shall remove from your place and go after it. Yet there shall be a space between you and it of about two thousand cubits. Do not come near it, that you may know the way by which you must go; for you have never passed this way before. Also take twelve men from the people, one man from each tribe. And Joshua said to the priests, Take up the ark of the covenant and pass over before the people.

And it came to pass when the people re-

Late Priestly Narratives

Then Jehovah said to Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that I will be with thee as I was with Moses, And thou shalt command the priests who bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When you come to the brink of the waters of Jordan, you shall stand still in the Jordan. And the waters that come down from above shall stand still.

Therefore when the feet of the priests who

dan shall be cut off and they shall rise in a heap.

And so when those who were carrying the ark came to the Jordan—the Jordan overflows its banks all the time of harvest—its waters rose up in a heap, a great way off at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, and those that went down toward the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off. And the people stood opposite Jericho.

moved from their tents to pass over the Jordan, the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant being before the people, *that Jehovah dried up the waters of the Jordan,* while all Israel passed over on dry ground, until the whole nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan.

were carrying the ark dipped in the brink of the water, the waters which came down from above stood still. And the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Jehovah stood firm on dry ground in the midst of the Jordan.

And it came to pass, when the whole nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan, that Jehovah said to Joshua, Command them saying, "Take hence from the midst of the Jordan (out of the place where the priests' feet stood), twelve stones, and carry them over with you and lay them down in the camping-place, where you shall pass the night, that this may be a sign among you, that, when your children ask, in time to come, 'What do you mean by these stones?' then you shall say to them, 'Because the waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Jehovah; when it passed over the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.'"

So they took up twelve stones out of the midst of the Jordan, as Jehovah said to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites, and they

Then Joshua called the twelve men whom he had appointed of the Israelites, a man from each tribe, and Joshua said to them, Pass over before the ark of Jehovah your God into the midst of the Jordan, and let every man of you lift a stone upon his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites; and these stones shall be for a memorial to the Israelites forever.

And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded. And those twelve stones which they took out of the Jordan, Joshua set up in Gilgal. And said to the Israelites, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying "What do, these stones mean?" then you shall instruct your children, saying, "On dry ground Israel came over this Jordan. For Jehovah your God dried up the waters of the Jordan from before you until you had passed over, as Jehovah your

Then Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of the Jordan in the place where the feet of the priests who carried the ark of the covenant stood; and they are there to this day. The priests who carried the ark stood in the midst of the Jordan, until every thing was finished that Jehovah commanded Joshua to speak to the people according to all that Moses commanded Joshua. And the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the Israelites, as Moses commanded them about forty thousand ready armed for war passed over before Jehovah to battle, to the plains of Jericho. On that day Jehovah magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him as they feared Moses, all the days of his life. And Jehovah said to Joshua, Command the priests who carry the ark of the law, that they come up

carried them over with them to the place where they camped, and laid them down there. Then the people passed over quickly. And it came to pass when all the people had finished the passage, that the ark of Jehovah passed over and the priests, in the presence of the people. And when the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Jehovah came up from the midst of the Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up on the dry ground, the waters of the Jordan returned to their place and went over all its banks as before.

God did to the Red Sea which he dried up from before us, until we had passed over, that all the peoples of the earth may know that the hand of Jehovah is mighty and that you may fear Jehovah your God forever."

Now when all the kings of the Amorites, who were to the west of the Jordan and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea, heard how that Jehovah had dried up the waters of the Jordan from before the Israelites, until they were passed over, they lost heart, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the Israelites.

out of the Jordan. So the people came up out of the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, on the east side of Jericho.

Gideon's Victory

(Judges 7:8–22, 8:11–17)

Early Judean

And Gideon went up by the caravan road east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and attacked the host as it lay without fear of attack. And he divided the three hundred men into three companies and gave them empty jars with torches within the jars. And he said, Look at me and do as I do, and say, 'For Jehovah and Gideon.' So Gideon and the hundred men with him came to the camp in the beginning of the middle watch, when it had just been set, and broke in pieces the jars in their hands. And the three companies broke their jars and took the torches in their left

Later Ephraimite

So the people took provisions in their hands and their trumpets; and he sent all the men of Israel every man to his home, retaining only the three hundred men.

Now the camp of Midian was beneath him in the valley. In that night Jehovah said to him, Arise, descend on the camp; for I have delivered it into your power. But if you are afraid to descend upon it, go down with Purah your servant to the camp; and you will hear what they are saying; and afterwards you will have courage to descend upon the camp. Then he went down with

hands and their *swords* in their right and cried, For Jehovah and Gideon. And the entire host awakened and they sounded the alarm and fled.

And Zebah and Zalmunna fled; but he pursued them and captured the two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, and threw all the host into a panic.

Then Gideon the son of Joash returned from the battle from the ascent of Heres. And he captured a young man of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him, and he gave him a list of the princes of Succoth and its elders, seventy-seven men. And when he came to the men of Succoth, he said, Behold Zebah and Zalmunna concerning whom you taunted me, saying "Are Zebah and Zalmunna already in your power that we should give bread to your exhausted men?" Then he took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness and briers, and he threshed the men of Succoth upon them. He also broke down the tower of Penuel, and slew the men of the city.

Purah his servant to the outskirts of the armed men who were in the camp. Now the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the east lay along in the valley like locusts in multitude; and their camels were innumerable, as the sand which is upon the seashore in number. And just as Gideon came, a man was telling a dream to his comrade; and he said, I just dreamed that a cake of barley bread tumbled into the camp of Midian, and came to the tent and struck it so that it fell, and it turned it upside down. And his comrade answered and said, This is nothing else than the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, the men of Israel; into his power God hath delivered Midian and all the host.

And when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and its interpretation, he worshipped; then he returned into the camp of Israel, and said, Arise, for Jehovah hath delivered into your power the host of Midian. And he put trumpets into the hands of all of them and said to them, When I come to the outskirts of the camp, then do exactly as I do. When I and all who are with me, blow the trumpet, then do you also blow the trumpets all about the camp. So they came to the outskirts of the camp and blew the trumpets. And they stood, each one where he was, about the camp; and when they blew the three hundred trumpets, Jehovah set

every man's sword against his comrade, throughout the entire camp, and the host fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah, as far as the brink of Abel-meholah, near Tabbath.

Three Accounts of the Selection of Saul to be King

1. Chosen privately by Samuel.	*2. Chosen by lot over Samuel's protest.*	*3. Elected with Samuel's approval.*
(*1 Sam. 9:27*) ———(*J*)	(*1 Sam. 10:19*) ———(*E*)	(*1 Sam. 14:15*) ———(*J*)
As they were going down at the outskirts of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid the servant pass on before us, but you stand here that I may make known to you the word of God. Then Samuel took the vial of oil, and poured it on his head and kissed him and said, Hath not Jehovah anointed you to be a prince over his people Israel? And you shall reign over the people of Jehovah and deliver them from the powers of their enemies around about.	But you yourselves have this day rejected your God, who himself has been saving you from all your calamities and your distresses, and you have said to him, "Nay, but a king shalt thou set over us." Now therefore present yourselves before Jehovah by your tribes and by your thousands.	Then Samuel said to the people, Come, and let us go to Gilgal, and renew the kingdom there. And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before Jehovah in Gilgal; and there they sacrificed peace-offerings before Jehovah; and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced exceedingly.

Now it happens that one class of passages scattered through these earlier Books resembles Gen. 1:1–2:4a, and another class of passages intermingled with these, though differing from them, resembles Gen. 2:4b–4:26. A closer study reveals the fact that the framework of the whole Book of Genesis has well-marked characteristics, which classes it with the first of these passages. This framework with its kindred materials is called P because it is supposed to have been the work of Priests during the Babylonian Captivity. Its characteristics will be

studied in connection with the later parts of the Old Testament where they belong chronologically.

Meanwhile it must be noted that the passages resembling the second section divide again into two general classes.

The differences here are not so marked as those between the two great divisions we have just considered. At the 20th Chapter of Genesis, we come upon the use of Elohim, but the general characteristics of the passage forbid its classification with Gen. I:1–24a. These characteristics reappear at intervals through the earlier Books. The name of God in one set of passages is "Yahweh," because of which critics call the one document J. The four consonants in the Hebrew text, which the Jews would not pronounce, were for a long time erroneously supplied with the vowels from the substitute word in the margin and read "Jehovah." Hence the name of the document. The name of God in the other groups of passages is Elohim, which gives the title E to the document. Not only are the names of God different, but the conception of Him is different also. In the passages distinguished as J, He is a big man, all powerful, benevolent, present with His people, holding intimate fellowship with them, visiting them in their tent-life and directing their affairs. In the passages known as E, He is more remote, and reveals himself to His people in visions, dreams, and by angels. The sympathies of J are with southern things; of E, with northern: although J is the broader of the two and gives more consideration to the North. E is much interested in northern sanctuaries and northern heroes. He prefers the name Jacob to Israel. J gives prominence to Judah, while E puts Reuben and Joseph forward. It is doubtful whether J refers to Joshua. E uses Amorite as the general name for the people of Palestine; while J uses Canaanite; E gives Horeb; J, Sinai. In E, Moses'

father-in-law is called Jethro; in J, Hobab. J, which originated in Judah, is understood to be the older of the two. Its prophetic character is less developed. That it was post Mosaic, is inferred from the fact that its story goes beyond Joshua. Its national spirit, its attitude toward surrounding nations, its looking to Solomon's reign "as a sort of Golden Age"—in other words, its general characteristics are earlier than E, and seem to fix the middle of the 9th century as the time of its composition. The perfection of its stories suggests that they had been transmitted by oral tradition for generations, for ages even.

It tells the story of creation in such way as to suggest kinship with Babylonian sources. These influences touched the Hebrews in Canaan long before the captivity. The indications are that these materials are a common inheritance of the Semites and are used in different ways by different branches of the family. It traces the history of Israel through Abraham down to the days of the Monarchy. When nations, like individuals, achieve prominence, they go back and trace the family tree. So here the heroic ancestors of the chosen people are idealized and presented with compelling charm. It is not impossible that the revival under Elijah is voiced here. The viewpoint, purpose, and spirit are distinctly prophetic. The writer is in touch with God and speaks for Him. The conception of sin, of a covenant relation between Yahweh and his people, of ultimate deliverance in a great future, the antagonism toward civilization, the building of the first city being accompanied with murder, and the invention of musical instruments marking the beginning of trouble—these all put the prophetic stamp upon the story. The stage of development in prophetic ideas tends to confirm 850 B. C. as the probable date of the beginning of the document. It is, however, not the product of one pen, but of a school of prophetic writers extending their work

down to the middle of the 8th century. The principal materials in Genesis assigned to this document by Driver, "The Book of Genesis," p. XII; are as follows: ii. 4b–iii., iv.; the parts of vi.–x. not referred above to P; xi. 1–9; and (except here and there a verse or two,—rarely, a few verses more,—belonging to E or P) xii., xiii., xv., xvi., xviii.–xix., xxiv., xxv. 21–34, xxvi., xxxii. 1–45, xxix. 2–14, xxix. 31–xxx. 24 (the main narrative), (partly), xxxviii., xxxix., xliii., xliv., xlvi. 28–34, xlvii., xlix., i. 1–11. 14. The general character of the document is well given by Driver ("The Book of Genesis," pages XV and XVI.):

"Of all the Hebrew historians whose writings have been preserved to us, J is the most gifted and the most brilliant. He excels in the power of delineating life and character. His touch is singularly light: with a few strokes he paints a scene, which impresses itself indelibly upon his reader's memory. In ease and grace his narratives are unsurpassed: everything is told with precisely the amount of detail that is required; the narrative never lingers, and the reader's interest is sustained to the end. He writes without effort, and without conscious art.

"'That some of his narratives are intentionally didactic can hardly be questioned: the first man, the woman, the serpent, and Yahweh, all play their part in the Eden drama with a profound purpose underlying it: yet the simplicity of the story and the clearness of the characterization are unmarred. But there are others, like the account of the mission of Abraham's steward in Gen. xxiv., which have no such specific aim, and are unsurpassed in felicitous presentation, because they are unconsciously pervaded by fine ideas. The dialogues especially are full of dignity and human feeling; the transitions in the scenes between Abraham and his visitors in ch. xviii., or between Joseph and his brethren, are instinctively artistic; for delicacy and

pathos, what can surpass the intercession of Judah (xliv. 18 ff.), or the self-disclosure of Joseph (xlv. 1 ff.)? The vivid touches that call up a whole picture, the time-references from daybreak through the heat to evening cool and night, the incidents that circle round the desert wells, the constant sense of the place of cattle alike in the landscape and in life, the tender consideration for the flock and herd,—all these belong to a time when the pastoral habit has not ceased, and the tales that belong to it are told from mouth to mouth. The breath of poetry sweeps through them; and though they are set in a historic frame that distinctly implies a reflective effort to conceive the course of human things as a whole, they have not passed into the stage of learned arrangement; they still possess the freshness of the elder time.'"

E arose about a century later than J. The general conceptions of the former are conceded to be considerably in advance of those of the latter. God is less anthropomorphic and more removed from intimate personal contact, more transcendent, making himself known through media. It was evidently written before the downfall of Israel in 722. Its general spirit fits the period of prosperity during the reign of Jeroboam II. It is contemporary with Amos. The place given to the prophet was more distinct than is accorded in J. The standard of ethics is higher. Things detrimental to the characters of the ancient heroes are omitted or toned down. Legislation is more advanced. The general outlook is not so broad as in J. Passages assigned by Driver, "The Book of Genesis," p. XII, to E in Genesis are: xv. 1–2, 5, xx., xxi. 6–21, 22–32[a], xxii. 1–14, 19, xxviii. 11–12, 17–18, 20–22, xxix. 1, 15–23, 25–28[a], 30, xxx. 1–3, 6, 17–20[a,c], 21–23, xxxi. 2, 4–18[a], 19–45, 51–55, xxxii. 1, xxxiii. 18[b]–20, xxxv. 1–8, xxxvii. 5–11, 19–20, 22–25[a], 28[a,c] 29–30, 36, xl.–xlii. (except a few isolated passages), xlv. (with similar exceptions), xlvi. 1–5, xlviii. 1–2, 8–22, 1. 15–26.

Of the general character of the document, he says:

"E in general character does not differ widely from J. But he does not as a writer exhibit the same rare literary power, he does not display the same command of language, the same delicacy of touch, the same unequalled felicity of representation and expression. His descriptions are less poetical; and his narratives do not generally leave the same vivid impression. As compared with P, both J and E exhibit far greater freshness and brightness of style; their diction is more varied; they are not bound to the same stereotyped forms of thought and expression; their narratives are more dramatic, more lifelike, more instinct with feeling and character."

We have come now to the middle of the 8th century B. C. There is no Old Testament book yet in its present form. We have traced the poetic fragments embodied in the sources back of the Hexateuch and pointed out the beginnings of the Wisdom Literature and of Primitive Codes. We followed this with a sketch of the short stories used also as sources. We have found these followed in turn by connected narratives, the beginning of extended history whose central ideas are the forerunners of the great prophetic movement upon whose outline we now enter.

PART TWO

PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS
(750–500 B. C.)

I

Introductory

Whatever may be our philosophy of history, whether we conceive society as a growing organism, or as an aggregation of individuals, the great man has a unique place. He brings to point and embodies the dominant movements of his era. One man may become the incarnation of an age. He interprets the tendencies of the times to the times. Ruskin has said somewhere that for every thousand that can talk there is but one that can think and for every thousand that can think there is but one who can see. One of the fiercest charges Jesus made against the men of his day was that while they could tell the face of the sky, they could not discern the signs of the times. Few people know what is going on around them. The deep currents are out of sight to the crowd. The great man feels these currents and undertakes to swing his times into line with them. We may take anyone of a half dozen attitudes toward the on-going stream of things. We may deny that there is such a stream. We may defy it. We may temporize with it. We may ignore it. We may honestly miss it. We may use it and be used by it. Those who do the last, "forget themselves into immortality" while all others are cast up as rubbish on the shore or buried out of sight forever. There are great strategic moments in human history, in the Old Testament in particular, at every one of which there stands a great man who is at once the creature and the creator of his epoch. His shining moments have become the light of the ages, revealing new altitudes of life, new areas of experience, new reaches of power.

Such men are the conscience and confidence of the world. They help us—

> "spy
> Some certainty, some sort of end assured,
> Some sparkle, though from topmost beacon tip,
> That warrants life a harbor thro' the haze."

Such were the prophets of ancient Israel. Though few in number they, in a sense, created the nation. Since a mountain is as high as its highest peak, what must be our tribute to the race that produced these men?

They are known in the Old Testament by various names, such as: Man of God (I. Sam. 2:27), Servant of Yahweh (Amos 3:7), Messenger of Yahweh (Hag. 1:13), Angel of the Lord (Jdgs. 6:22), My Messenger (Mal. 3:1), Man of the Spirit (Hosea 9:7), God's Mouthpiece (Ex. 4:14 f.), Intercessor (Gen. 20:7), Judge (Jdgs. 4:4), Singer (I. Sam. 10:5 I. Chron. 25:1–5), Counselor (II Sam. 15:12). The prophet appears as a miracle worker; II. Kgs. 4:4:4:32), as a revealer of God's will (I. Kgs. 16:7; Jer. 1:9, 18:1). In the earlier stages he is spoken of as "seer"; two words being used to designate him—Roeh and Chozeh—the former indicating the process of perceiving with the natural eye, the latter referring more particularly to vision (II. Sam. 24:11; II. Chron. 16:7; Isa. 30:10; I. Chron. 25:5; II. Chron. 33:18; Amos 7:10). He is spoken of also as "a watchman," "a spyer," "a sentinel," "a man on the outlook," indicating the kind of effort put forth to reach truth; he looked out for it, watched for God's revelation; his effort was, therefore, voluntary (Hab. 2:1—2). The word translated, spyer, refers particularly to outlook, as contrasted with Chozeh, which emphasizes insight. The insight here referred to is not constant but occasional. The prophet was said to be in vision or in the spirit. He was in general a teacher, a dictator, a holy man, a historian, one who spoke for God to the people. He saw the signs of the

times; and because of what he knew of the present, could foresee the future, and thus become a predictor. The root idea of the word used in Hebrew for "prophet" is uncertain. It probably means an excited, impassioned speaker for God, or a mad one; but never signifies "a predictor," though it may get this meaning from the context. They were really social reformers, seeking to enthrone God in person and social consciousness.

How did the prophet get his message? Three answers have been given. First, that of the rationalist. According to this theory, prophecy is the normal working of the human mind in contact with certain definite problems. The prophetic movement was a system of thought intended to elevate the people to a higher moral plane. This would reduce all history to natural processes, and leave God out. The second answer would make the chief function of the prophet prediction. According to this theory, the prophet would have little connection with current history. His chief work was to foretell events. His predictions came true, down to the minutest detail. The information given him supernaturally, long in advance, was attested by this fulfillment. He was a foreteller, rather than a forthteller. He was a mere pen in God's hand, writing down things verbally dictated to him, but often not understood by him. The third answer is, that the prophet was a man in close touch with the times, with impending issues in the life of the nation, thoroughly conversant with the principles underlying the moral order of the world, alert to spiritual currents, intimate above all with God, who revealed Himself personally to him. The reaction of the Divine personality upon the human gave a new viewpoint, a new insight, a new outlook. The prophet stands between God and his age. He got his message then by first-hand contact with spiritual forces.

In the earlier stages great excitation often preceded

and accompanied prophesying. Saul raved among the prophets who were little more than roving dervishes. Men in that day looked upon abnormal mental conditions as indicating peculiar relations with God. External means were used to induce the prophetic state. These dervishes played upon musical instruments. When Elisha was asked advice by Jehosaphat, he called for a minstrel (II. Kings 3:11), during whose performance the "hand of the Lord" came upon him. In I. Chron. 25:1 Asaph and his followers are called "prophets upon harps." Music has a wonderful effect upon the human spirit. A like effect is produced by babbling waters, and so Ezekiel prophesied by the canal Chebar and Daniel by the river Hiddekel. These external means were discarded with the coming of normal prophecy and were introduced again when it was waning. Ecstatic experiences were common in the earliest and latest periods. In the middle stages normal mental processes prevailed. Visions were a common means of revelation. They came to Samuel, after whose day personality rather than external implements or machinery of any kind, such as Urim, Thummim, Lot, etc., became the mouthpiece of God. They often came at night; for example, to Eliphaz (in the IV. Chap. of Job), to Nathan (2.5.7:4). The Psalms make much of meditation in the night season. During visions there were all degrees of consciousness and all stages of excitation. Truths were realized, events foreseen in the midst of ordinary experiences, without ecstacy. This seems to have been true of Amos; also Hosea who brooded over his trouble until the message came. Then there was a state of high feeling, such as Isaiah had in the temple (Chap. VI.). We are all familiar with mental abstraction. Once a great American scholar sat down in the evening to dinner at a hotel in London. His mind went off roving among higher realities, and he was brought back to consciousness of his surroundings only when the servants

came next morning with breakfast. In these highest moments the spirit transcends the senses. We are little sensitive to the things around us. Indeed we are in some far away region out of touch with our environment. The mind may then go "careering" on the high levels suddenly opened up. The will has let go the reins, and we may even doubt with Paul whether we are in the body or out of the body. We are usually conscious in such a state of what we are thinking about. Yet sometimes we are lost in the clouds. When the vision was over, the prophet was often exhausted. Daniel is described as left alone and fainting, with no strength in him. Nervous collapses would follow these excitations. It is not a far call from Elijah, facing 400 Baal prophets on Carmel, to Elijah under the juniper tree wanting to die. It is interesting that in the earliest and latest stages, ecstacy was more common than it was in the intermediate. Dreams are a well-known medium of revelation. My father once solved, in a dream, a difficult mathematical problem on which he had been working for months. Revelation was described also by the prophets under such terms as "ne-um," saith, utterance, oracle, burden of the Lord. The spirit of the Lord was understood to be the agent producing mental states in the prophet. The prophet Ezekiel says of the Spirit "he spoke by me," "entered into me," "set me upon my feet," "came mightily upon me," "took me up" "put his hand upon me," "spoke with a strong hand," "lifted me up," "giveth understanding." The hand of Yahweh also "came upon me," "touched my mouth," "put my words in my mouth." Yahweh "came into me," "took one spirit off" of me and "put another on." The prophet understood all these to mean that there was a speaking into his soul created by the Spirit on the side of God and inwardly heard by himself. These experiences came in co-operation with the Divine will. The prophet seemed never to have inferred, calcu-

lated, analyzed to the extent that we do. He saw and felt what he heard. We must not forget that the prophet lived in a fluid universe, in an unexplored world, full of things new to him. "He always started with two principles and one fact: first, Jehovah is Israel's God alone and is a righteous God; secondly, he demands a moral people to worship him with moral character; these two are fused into the great fact of redemption."

The prophet felt not only *that* God was speaking, but also *what* he was saying. How did he know it? Wherever there is truth, there is God, it is God's truth, and the warmth created in the human spirit by that truth is its highest attestation. The strongest assurance of reality is the thrill of the spinal column in response to its presentation. The prophet distinguished between his own speech and that which was given him, but how he distinguished he nowhere tells us.

> "Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
> From outward things, whate'er you may believe.
> There is an inmost centre in us all,
> Where truth abides in fulness; and around,
> Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,
> This perfect, clear perception—which is truth,
> A baffling and perverting carnal mesh
> Binds it, and makes all error: and, to KNOW,
> Rather consists in opening out a way
> Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
> Than in effecting entry for a light
> Supposed to be without."

The touch of God releases this imprisoned splendor.

There were false prophets also. Prophecy was a "national-religious" feeling. The true prophet follows the promptings of his deepest intuitions, moved by religious impulses. This often carried him into bitter conflict with his times, which was always a thankless course, and, therefore, required well-nigh boundless

courage. He willed to do at any cost the will of God, and, therefore, knew. The false prophet took the line of least resistance, contenting himself with the inspiration of national feeling, emphasizing that element in the prophetic state. It is always more comfortable to advocate the status quo than to go into the trenches and imperil your life for the demands of a higher righteousness. Few men are able to see alike the far side of near things and the near side of far things. Fewer still have the courage of that vision. Those without it are false prophets in every age.

II

The Pre-Prophetic Movement

Moses to Samuel (down to 1100 B. C.): Society was disorganized, crude; there was a dearth of high men. The will of God was supposed to be learned from wizards, sorcerers, necromancers, soothsayers, by the lot, by the whisper of trees, the flight of birds, the passing of clouds, as well as other signs, omens, etc. Prophecy was on a low plane. It dealt with trivial things, such as detection of criminals, the recovery of lost property, the settlement of civil suits, when crops should be planted, war waged, etc.

We have in this period named as prophets only Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Miriam, Deborah, the angel of the Lord sent to stir up Gideon, and the angel of the Lord sent to the mother of Samuel and Eli. Prophets outside of the Hebrews are Melchizedeck, Jethro, and Balaam. It seems probable that prophecy was taken over from the Canaanites in Palestine.

Samuel to Ahijah (1100 B. C. to 937): This is the period of the United Kingdom. At its beginning, Samuel gathered up in himself the best tendencies of the former period, and the success of his commanding personality made for the conservation of values. He was both

prophet and nazarite. The first definite reference to a class of men as prophets occurs in I. Sam. 10:12. Here appear groups, guilds, settlements of the prophets, cenobites, monks as it were, although some of them were married, at Ramah (Samuel's home), Bethel, Gibeah, Jericho, Gilgal, and probably at Carmel. These men seem to have been peripatetic clairvoyants, teachers, preachers, entertainers, religious enthusiasts, dervishes roving about, often in groups, from the centers where they lived together. Their performances were often accompanied with music used to create the ecstatic state. Saul fell under their spell, stripped off his clothes, rolled about on the ground, and prophesied with them all day and night. This rising enthusiasm may have been due to the power of Samuel, to outside pressure from their enemies, or to stirrings among the people. The high places of the Canaanites were taken over and made into something like country churches by the Hebrews. In the time of the monarchy, the Prophet was a seer close to the king. David was fortunate in having such advisers as Gad (I. Sam. 22:5), who was with him in his flight, condemned him later (II. Sam. 24:II f.), wrote annals of his reign (I. Chron..29:29), and with Nathan arranged the musical service for the Temple (II. Chron. 29:25); Nathan, the statesman, who guided in planning the building of the Temple (II. Sam. 7:1–17; cf. I. Kgs. 1–17), brought him to his knees after his great sin (II. Sam. 12:1–15), caused him to put iah into the name of his son Jedidiah (II. Sam. 12:25), which was a declaration of faith in Jehovah, who probably trained Solomon and finally made him king (I. Kgs. I); and Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun, whose sons were appointed to prophesy on harps (I. Chron. 25:1–3). David was put upon the throne by the prophetic party who had discarded Saul, and retained their loyal support, not only officially, but also personally, to the end; for the great warrior was a great lover.

He had hooks of steel by which he drew men of all types to him. It was altogether different with Solomon. There was no prophet that dared to tell him the truth, unless Ahijah was the medium for the warning given him, recorded in the I. Kgs. 11:11. He was left alone to go on his wilful way. With his extravagance, liberalizing tendencies in religion and foreign policies, the men who had supported his father could have no sympathy. The simple gift of a bottle of wine and a kid carried by David to the king is leagues away from the splendid offerings of the Queen of Sheba. The prophetic party, in the grip of a Divine commission, determined to rid the people of such despotism. There is a natural inevitable division of sentiment always between the North and the South. That feeling had been exaggerated by partiality shown to Judah in releasing them from furnishing their share of the support of the king's table. Ahijah, the Shilonite, backed by Shemaiah and the prophetic party, voiced the divided attitude of the people by splitting the kingdom and giving Jeroboam the North, which was henceforth to be a kingdom of prophets, as the South was to be a kingdom of priests.

Ahijah to Amos (937–750 B. C.): Henceforth, we are to follow the separate courses taken by the on-going stream of the life of God in the soul of the Hebrew people, as one part of it develops in the stormy atmosphere of the Northern kingdom down to its fall in 722, and the other in the more conservative atmosphere of the South where the machinery of religion and government was more stable.

In the South we find Shemaiah forbidding Rehoboam to fight against Israel (I. Kgs. 12:22), bringing him to his knees before Shishak (II. Chron. 12:5–7), and associated with Iddo in writing the acts of Rehoboam (II. Chron. 12:15); Iddo writing the acts of Abijah (II. Chron. 13:22) and with Nathan and Ahijah writing the acts of Solomon (II. Chron. 9:29); Azariah stirring up

Asa to introduce reforms, "Jehovah is with you while ye are with him" (II. Chron. 15:1–8); Hanani, the seer, rebuking Asa for reliance on Syria (II. Chron. 16:7–10); Jehu, the son of Hanani, rebuking Jehosophat, the son of Asa, then going North and foretelling the downfall of the house of Baasha (I. Kgs. 16:3); Jehaziel encouraging Jehosaphat with, "The battle is not yours, but God's" (II. Chron. 20:14–17); Eliezer foretelling the destruction of Jehosophat's fleet. The commanding figures in the North whose names are given are: Obadiah, the prime minister of Ahab (I. Kgs. 18:3 f.), who fed a hundred prophets of Jehovah clandestinely and stood trembling between Ahab and Elijah; Micaiah ben Imlah (I. Kgs. 22:4–28; II. Chron. 18:3–27), who was carried before Ahab and Jehoshaphat to confirm or deny the predictions of the 400 prophets gathered there to advise about the war against Syria to recover Ramoth-gilead; the titanic men of all, Elijah and Elisha; and Jonah, who was sent to Jeroboam II. about the enlargement of the borders of Israel. Besides these we have reference to at least four or five hundred whose names are not given. The whole country swarmed with prophets of both Yahweh and Baal. Elijah worked for twenty-five years and Elisha for fifty to unite the people in the worship of Yahweh. These were stirring times. It was a great creative period, and the pre-prophets were creators. They were political dictators. They made and un-made kings at their will.

III

AMOS: A Righteous God Demands a Righteous People

(755–745 B. C.)

It was a time of great prosperity in Northern Israel. Jeroboam II. had been a successful king. The borders of his territory had been enlarged. Israel had, as they

thought, secured a permanent place among the powers of the world. No distress could ever come to them. The well-to-do lived in elegant houses built of cedar and inlaid with ivory. They had summer and winter homes. Their furnishings were gorgeous. The beds, for example, were made of ivory. The women had nothing to do but lounge around in silk robes and drink fine wines with their paramours and eat delicate foods. The rich were growing richer, the poor poorer. Old estates that had been owned for years by honest people were being seized by the land greedy. These landgrabbers were so brutal as to "pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor." The needy were mercilessly sold even for a pair of shoes. Oppression was everywhere. Morals were as low as can be conceived. Debauchery was almost universal. Immorality reigned in the homes, in business, in politics, in every phase of social life. And it was as bad in religion as in society. The lower the people sank, the more religious they became. Extra offerings were made to atone for yet deeper sins. And the leaders were as bad as the worst. The priests were as depraved as the people. Rottenness and rollicking were the order of the day, and a splendid ritual set all at rights.

Nobody saw the storm gathering in the northeast. "Where there is no vision the people perish." And there was no vision here. The mighty Assyrian had long been creeping toward the west, had long been advancing as a well-nigh irresistible world conqueror. The terrible hour was now rapidly approaching when he would drop like the crack of doom upon the helpless little kingdoms of these coast lands. One would suppose that anybody might have been able to see the signs of the times, but nobody saw. They were all children of Abraham, the children of promise; they were diligently performing their religious ritual, and Jehovah was pledged to protect and provide for his own. So that

even if their leaders realized what was going on among outside nations, it was no concern of theirs. They were beyond the reach of disaster.

There was, however, one pair of eyes that could see at least that chastisement was coming, though he, per haps, had little idea by whom God would send it. Twelve miles below Jerusalem, overlooking the Dead Sea, are the barren wastes of Tekoa. This little village on a rocky hilltop was the simple home of a few shepherds and growers of figs (sycamore figs, that had to be pinched at certain times to produce food for the poorer classes). Under these hard and rugged conditions Amos had grown up. While he tended his sheep on the lone mountainside and pinched figs as they rested at noon, he had been watching God, watching the drift of things in the big world, working out in solitude a philosophy of life, a great philosophy of history. He had, so far as we know, nobody to help him, and he had no established precedents to follow. The problems dealt with by Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and other forerunners were wholly different. The pictures of their world still preserved are pictures of wonderland. Marvels are on every hand. When we read the story of Elijah and pass suddenly to that of Amos, ninety years after, we cannot help feeling puzzled at the strides made. How to account for this rapid advance is one of the difficulties of the period.

What the school advantages of this little town were, or whether there were any, we do not know. Whether Amos went to the university supposed by some to have been established by Solomon in Jerusalem or not, we do not know. The literature in his reach was certainly meager compared to our countless volumes. There were probably only a few booklets. And yet when this man appears in history he is a world historian, a philosopher, a theologian, a very great poet, and a wonderful orator, Laboring at his daily tasks of what others were no

doubt considering mere drudgery, he had mastered the great trunk lines of truth that traverse the universe and perfected himself in the use of his mother tongue. Conscious contact with reality had called out all there was in him; and while he may never have gone to school, he was in the truest sense of the word a highly educated man. He began a new era in the literature of Israel; for he was probably the first of the writing prophets whose complete book we have almost in its original form.

This country boy had likely been going up to Bethel and the other towns of Northern Israel selling his sycamore figs and the wool he had grown. He had, no doubt, looked in at many a back door as well as front and seen how things were going among the rich and poor. He had meanwhile seen the storm gathering in the northeast. He had felt world currents surging around him. He knew what was coming. So finally God by an irresistible impulse took him from his sheep and sent him to Bethel to prophesy to those wicked people in the midst of their worship. I can see him now as he enters the tabernacle, with long whiskers, long hair, a big turban on his head, sandals on his feet, a course cloak hanging loosely about his body, a girdle around his waist, a shepherd's staff in his hand. Thousands of gay worshippers are moving to and fro exchanging the latest gossip and listlessly attending to white-robed priests who are perfunctorily offering the sacrifices. There is nowhere a note of danger or distress. All is well with Jehovah's elect. Then the man of the desert steps in, and, finding a commanding position from which they cannot fail to hear, he thunders: "Jehovah will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither. Thus saith Jehovah: for three transgressions of Damascus, yea for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof." Then, beginning with this farthest northern city in the track of the on-

coming Assyrian, he recounts the story of each little nation lying around them, in order of their positions, reaching his climax with Judah, and then closing with Israel. (This text should probably be slightly rearranged so as to restore a displacement and give these cities as they come.) By the time he gets to Judah all ears are intent and priests and people are crowding around to hear the curse upon their brethren, when suddenly he turns upon them with nothing less than divine fury. These first three chapters are a fine work of art, as indeed the whole book is, for it is almost all poetry of a high class and has been arranged in regular poetic form. Now he has their interest and probably for several days or months or years pours out his soul in dreadful warning till the priest in charge sends word to the king that he has conspired against the government and the land is not able to bear all his words.

The land is never able to bear all the words of God's prophets. This high dignitary told Amos to go back home, back to the South, and there get bread by prophesying. The lines between north and south were as distinct then as with us after the Civil War. We did not like to have Northerners come down South and teach us, and the North did not care for instruction from the South. So Amos, the Southerner, was not a welcome preacher against the North during the ten years of his more or less interrupted labors. He must go back and talk for his bread among his own people. Amos in reply explained that he was no professional prophet but that Jehovah had taken him from his work and sent him to Israel, and he answered with a terrible rebuke. (Amos vii. 14–17.)

He seems to have returned home soon after, and, having failed to get results from his spoken words, wrote them down for the men of his day. Written prophecy begins in the failure of one of the greatest of all the prophets. It is probable that additions were made to

the book, later. His opening address is given in 1:3–2:16. This is followed by a series of notes on a half dozen sermons, given, probably, at different times. The germ thoughts in these are: Destruction Coming Like the Roar of a Lion, 3:1–8; The Doom of Samaria, 3:9–4:3; Israel's Obtuseness, 4:4–13; A Dirge of Destructions, 5:1–6; Grief Waiting for Transgressors, 5:7–17; The Doom of Captivity, 5:18–6:11. These sermon notes are followed, in turn, by notes of five visions; three of destruction, 7:1–9; The conflict with the ruling priest of the temple, 7:10–17; The vision of summer fruit, setting forth Israel's ripeness for destruction, 8:1–14; The vision of ruin, 9:1–8. To this, a materialistic vision of good times to come was added, probably by a later hand, 9:8–15.

And what is his message? In a word, that Yahweh, a righteous God, is the ruling power in this world, the God of nature and history, the God of the nations, and the Governor of all, the unavoidable Presence, who knows us all and demands social righteousness, whom it is impossible to escape, whom we must meet even here and now. No more important word could be spoken to this generation. The crack of doom is impending over all who do wrong, for God is in His world. No unrighteous people ever escaped or ever will. No amount of dogma loyally believed or of ritual faithfully practiced can avert the nemesis of social wrongs. Piety is no substitute for character. This was new doctrine. It opens a chapter in the history of religion.[1]

[1] Hitherto ritual and belief had precedence over conduct. Amos carried forward Samuel's great word, "To obey is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams." Henceforth righteousness is to be an essential element in Israel's religion.

IV

HOSEA: The God of Love Demands Loyalty

(745–735 B. C.)

While Amos, the foreigner, with Divine impelment was thundering his anathemas at Israel in the royal sanctuary at Bethel, there was probably a younger man, a native of the town, listening with deep emotion to his awful words. This young man was a sort of Abraham Lincoln type, only he was city bred; while Amos, like Lincoln, was of the country. I can see him now, as he stands around among the gay worshippers, silent. These were his very own people. He was deeply touched by the awful truths uttered by this Southerner to his northern brethren. Yet he believed them true. The only answer he could feel was that they were not the whole truth. There was surely, there must be, another side to it all. Amos had pointed out the impending doom, had preached the severe, the inexorable demands of social morality, had drawn in lurid colors the nemesis of social wrongs required by a righteous God. In such a view there was no hope and Amos had probably given none. The man of Tekoa had preached morality rather than religion, and there was no gospel in his message. Was there a gospel after all?

Meanwhile, Hosea marries. A son is born. So deeply has the sense of approaching ruin taken hold of him that he names the child Jezreel, symbolizing the avenging of the bloody butchery of Ahab's family by Jehu in the speedy destruction of the Dynasty of Omri. He expected the end of that dynasty and the end of the kingdom to come at once. He thus began his message where Amos left off. The doom was certain.

Two or three years pass. He suspects his wife of infidelity. A daughter is born and he names her "Loruhamah" ("Unloved," "That never knew a Father's

Pity"). Another son comes. He is called "Lo-ammi" ("Not-My-People"). They are no longer God's people, and He is no longer their God. His wife runs away and goes to the bottom. He is left alone with these three children, two of whom he now knows not to be his. They are "orphaned" by a mother's unspeakable sin. But his love is unabated and he will not let her go. He cannot. He follows her to the end of her bitter shame with the boundless, passionate, devotion of a wounded soul. But still she went from bad to worse. Hosea was now learning a new lesson from it all. There was a belief common among Semites, the race to which he belonged, that God was a sort of husband to His people. This figure of marriage was in common use to describe that relationship. And Hosea began to apply it to the attitude of faithless Israel to God who had selected them for His own, had married them, had clung to them in spite of their persistent disloyalty to Him. Then he began to get his great prophetic message. He began to see in his first impulse to marry Gomer the call of God to him to learn by bitter experience of broken love ties the tragic meaning of the long, long story of the Great Husband's unrequited love. He is moved to make one more effort to get Gomer back and buys her at the auction block for eleven dollars and a quarter in silver and twelve bushels of barley worth that much more. He bought her, in other words, for the price of a common slave at public outcry. She was put in a separate room and there confined for a time till she should come to herself. She was not now to be wife to Hosea or anybody else. By that discipline he hoped to restore her in character and finally to her place in the home. This again led him to see the way God had been dealing with Israel and would yet deal with them. They would touch bottom, would be destroyed as Amos had said, but God would restore them after bitter discipline to their place as His people.

Brooding over the deeper meaning of his own grief he was moved to say the word to his people that Amos had left unsaid. So while the latter was finishing his work, Hosea appears one day in the midst of the great throng of gay worshipprs while white-robed priests were butchering and burning animals in the name of religion and the thoughtless crowd chattering about the latest sensation in the town. This quiet, reticent, cultured soul, quivering in every nerve, improvised a platform, put it where he could command the crowd, and began his great sermon, I imagine, somewhat after this fashion: "My countrymen, you all know the story of my broken home, how I married a girl I supposed to be pure, how our first baby was named to symbolize the inevitable avenging of the murders committed by Jehu, how the neighbors talked about the suspicions attached to my wife, how those suspicions took hold of me and I named the second baby "Unpitied," how when the third baby came, I knew the terrible truth and called him "Not–My–People." And you know how Gomer went to the dogs and how I finally bought her back out of the depths of shame. You know it all. Now I have come to see God's hand in it all. He was leading me over this bitter way to give me a message for you, my own people. You remember, some of you at least, the shocking words of Amos. I thought then there must be another side to that story. Surely God is not all vengeance alone! There must be a tender side to Jehovah. There is. You have been unfaithful to Him just as my wife has been to me, unfaithful to the last degree. But, just as my love for Gomer would not let me turn her loose, so has Yahweh's undying, unchanging passion for you held on to you and kept you through all the years of shameless debauchery. Great as is His Law, greater still is His Love. From the anguish of a broken-hearted husband, I have felt my way to a Broken-Hearted God."

Then for ten years he gives his whole soul to the one

work of bringing his people to see this truth. He uses also the figure of sonship. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." How touching is the outcry: "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I cast thee off, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me, my compassions are kindled together." A wayward wife, a wayward son, such is Israel; a husband whose love never wanes, a Father whose bleeding heart follows His wandering boy to the limits of the world—such is God.

Hosea was, therefore, quite the opposite of Amos in thought and character. Amos got his message from observation, Hosea from the agony of experience. Amos was broad enough to see the wider ranges of history, while Hosea saw primarily Israel and the forces against her. The one was simple, the other exceedingly complex. Amos was the incarnation of moral power in merciless action; Hosea mingled love and hate, tenderness and severity, hope and despair, the fury of righteous indignation and the gentleness of womanly affection. Unlike his southern kinsman he was deeply emotional and he was more profoundly religious. The one felt the fury of God's broken law; the other, the anguish of God's broken heart.

We have in Hosea also a lurid picture of the people's sins. The first part of his ministry was in a time of general prosperity and peace; the later years were times of anarchy and confusion. His book bears evidence of this in the very chaotic character of the style. He often goes like a whirlwind from one half-developed allusion to another. His book cannot be analyzed. The storm in his own soul was but the epitome of that raging without in commercial, industrial, social, and political affairs. The leaders and the people were both alike rotten. There was no knowledge of God and no real love in the land. Yet a better time was coming.

God would be as the dew unto Israel and he would blossom as the lily and cast forth his roots as Lebanon.

There are some exceedingly modern notes in this great man's words. He saw society as an organism, a life lived out by the nation as one vital whole. What affected one part affected all. There are distinct laws by which this life works itself out and to violate these is to suffer whether we know it or not.

"Great men are the conscience of a people," said Emerson. So thought Hosea. Where the people and their leaders are alike without vision and without character, both go into the ditch.

And Religion is basal in all society. When we have no deep religious experience and nobody is doing any deep religious thinking, there is trouble ahead. Our age seem to be as superficial as Hosea's and our people do not want profound thinking and preaching any more now than then, but somebody must do it, if anybody can. Our religion is back of all our laws, back of all our institutions, back of all our commerce and industry, back of all our politics and statecraft, back of all our social, civic, and economic life. In it all these things are finally rooted and out of it alone can they bear worthy fruitage. So thought Hosea; so think we. God is at the heart of things, of all things.

Hosea sounds the first great evangelistic note. He lacked only two things of preaching the truth of the prodigal son: He confined his conception of the love of God to the nation as a whole in neglect of the individual; he thought only, so far as we can see, of Israel rather than sinners of all races. He lacked the breadth even of Amos while Amos lacked his depth. But he brought a new message to the human race, the one we all most yearn to hear, that God is a God that cares, that loves, that suffers, that never gives us up. And all the great prophets that came after lived and worked under the spell of this mighty gospel.

Since the above was written, scholars seem to be veering toward the literal interpretation of Hosea's words. Professor J. M. P. Smith, for example, says, in his "The Prophet and His Problems": "Hosea, a Prophet already burdened with the sense of his people's sin, felt himself called upon by Yahweh to marry a lewd woman, to the end that through such a marriage he might open the eyes of Israel to the enormity of its offence in being disloyal to Yahweh, its rightful lord."

V

ISAIAH: The Majestic Holiness of God; the Persistence and Power of His Kingdom

(740–697 B. C.)

If Amos passed through the fashionable part of Jerusalem on his way to Bethel he might have seen a five-year old boy playing on the streets. That boy was Isaiah, who fifteen years afterwards was to be inducted into the Prophetic work in Jerusalem. Some five years before Amos completed his work, Hosea appeared on the scene in Bethel, giving the other half of the truth presented by Amos. While that was going on the young Aristocrat in Jerusalem was coming to manhood. Born of aristocratic parents and brought up in touch with the highest social circles, with the royal family even, he was heir to the best the city had and absorbed all the refinements of the noblest culture of the time.

About the time Hosea completed his work, this young Isaiah, twenty years old, was worshipping in the Temple one day meditating upon the holiness of God as contrasted with the moral rottenness of his people, meditating upon the majesty of God as contrasted with the desecration of sacred things in the lives of his people. He was surrounded, no doubt, by great throngs of splendidly apparelled worshippers, who with their lips were praising

God while their hearts were far from Him. Suddenly to him the whole scene changes. As he looks towards the holy of holies thought of as the special seat of God, the curtains are drawn aside, the ark suddenly becomes the throne of God, high and lifted up. His train fills the Temple, Seraphic beings swing around him in a semicircle, each with six wings, covering his face with two, with two his feet, and with two poising himself in mid-air ready to fly. They were chanting the choral song of the upper world. Half of them were singing, "Holy, Holy, Holy is Jehovah of hosts." The other half were replying, "The whole earth is full of His glory." The pulsing rhythm of infinite passion shook the very foundations of the building where the young man stood. He felt the coming together of holiness and unholiness, of sin and righteousness, of victory and defeat, of the heavenly and the earthly, of the human and the divine, and that rushing together of opposites produced a smoke that filled the whole place. Overwhelmed, he cried out, "Woe is me for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips." Spoken words were to him the essence of character, and since his spoken words were impure he was a man impure, for whosoever offendeth not in word the same is a perfect man. His first vision then was of God and the spiritual universe. His second vision following in immediate succession was of himself. His third vision was of the condition of his people. He was dwelling among a people of unclean lips. His fourth vision was of the cleansing power of the Divine contact with the human. A burning stone from off the altar was touched to his lips by one of the seraphim and he felt his whole being change. He became suddenly a new creation. His soul thus cleansed and his sins thus instantly forgiven, he heard the call of God for some one to save the nation and gladly replied: "Here am I, send me." But the nation will be only hardened by his message. The whole truth of a discouraging ministry in the face of

unresponsive hearts, dull ears and blind eyes was revealed to him. Not unlike many of us, he asked how long this would last? And was frankly told it must last until the country was devastated and the people taken away in captivity. There was in this vision faint hope held out, but later assurance was given him that a remnant would return, that he and his little group of disciples would be the church within the church, that would be the seed of the kingdom. The story of this call was written down some years afterwards when he had come to feel the success of failure to be the law of service. (Ch. 6.)

Thus began the career of Israel's greatest Prophet. It was a critical moment in the history. Uzziah had just died and the question so often asked, "Who can ever take his place?" was on the lips of the leaders; for he had been a great King. The fact that he had been stricken down in the Temple with leprosy added a tragic aspect to the situation. We do not know very much of this boy's early training, or of his family relationship. His name, Yahweh's Deliverance, is religiously significant, suggesting devout home conditions. His wife was "the Prophetess." One of his children he named Shear-Jashub "A Remnant Shall Return," and the other Mahershalal-hashbaz "Hasten Booty, Speed Spoil." His methods of work are interesting. If he wanted to talk about the returning to God of a holy remnant, he took Shear-Jashub down street with him and as the little boy walked along the attention of somebody would be attracted, his name would be asked and explained. Meanwhile a crowd would begin to gather and Isaiah would deliver his sermon. Or if he wanted to protest against Ahaz's foreign policy, he would take Mahershalal-hashbaz. Sometimes he would go out on the public square and write on a placard enigmatical letters and stand there until somebody would come along and ask about them. He would

then begin his sermon. Again, he would dance into the temple court and attract attention by singing a vineyard ditty, and then drive home his message. When the Politicians were trying to make terms with Egypt, he walked about the city stripped and barefooted, for three years—to symbolize the doom that awaited Egypt and the Ethiopians.

His work may be divided into three periods:

First: That during the reign of Jotham (740 to 735 B. C.) We have here a record of the moods through which he passed. He begins with the splendid picture of Jerusalem, the ideal to be realized by his people. Then comes the disillusionment, disaster universal. This in turn is followed by a picture of God on the scene of action redeeming his devastated people. (Chapters 2–5.)

The sixth chapter which gives his call was probably written as an introduction to a separate volume containing the prophecies during the reign of Ahaz (735 to 728 B. C., Chs. 6:1–10:4). This is a period when foreign things are fashionable. Foreign religion is introduced. The religion of Yahweh is suspended. Even human sacrifice is offered in Jerusalem. The picture of conditions is lurid. A weak vacillating king without moral character or intellectual acumen is assailed by Damascus and Israel combined and in an evil hour over the protest of Isaiah, calls in the Assyrians. There is distress—social, religious, political—everywhere. It was here, when hope was darkest, that the Prophet points out the coming of a Deliverer, the Messiah. The reign of Hezekiah is the Prophet's most brilliant period (727–697). Read the story of his work during this period in the following order: Chs. 28; 10: 5–34; 11–12; 20–21 10; 38–39; 29–32; 14:24–21; 23;1; 2; 33; 36–39. (The following passages are referred by critics, Geo. Adam Smith in particular, to dates later than Isaiah's time: 12:12–14; 23; 24–27; 34–35.)

The king is a reformer and is without a doubt advised and backed by Isaiah.

At the close of the century this magnificent statesman appears in all his glory. He had opposed alliance with Assyria, but when the alliance was made had insisted upon loyalty to their overlord. He had fought alone for forty years against king and politicians, against the entrenched wrongs of the time. He alone could see what was involved in the playing of politics and the practicing of immorality by God's chosen people. When the final hour came and the Assyrians closed in around the walls of Jerusalem all hope was lost. The king was trembling. The whole populace was in confusion. Pandemonium reigned everywhere. There was only one soul in all the thousands in Judah that had any heart left. While these Assyrians were likely to crush the city at any moment, this man of God went up and down the streets declaring that Jerusalem could not fall, that God's Temple was impregnable. It was God's home and must therefore stand forever. By sheer power of a gigantic faith in the living God alone, he saved the city from surrender, promising deliverance in the face of impossible conditions: such is the situation at sunset. At sunrise, the Assyrians had been smitten with a plague and those still alive had fled. Isaiah now looms up as the sole master of the hour. But for his heroic faith Jerusalem would have been wiped off the map. The last of the tribes would have been utterly destroyed and God's chosen people, so far as we can see, would have finally disappeared. One man alone and God were a majority. And that majority there as everywhere was invincible. The world can never pay its debt to this Man of God for standing in the breach in that critical moment and preserving to us the greatest values then existing on earth. For had Israel perished, when could Christ have come?

Isaiah's message is exceedingly modern. Who shall

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estimate the importance of inculcating today reverence for the majesty of God? One of the ills of our time is that we make God common. The sense of awe is disappearing from us. Even the word "worship" has almost gone out of the language. Who shall make us sensitive to the eternal realities and glories of the upper world? And not only his majesty but also his holiness needs to be felt. Holiness originally meant separateness. It came later to mean moral character. A holy God demands men living in right relations with each other. The kingdom cannot be set up between God and one soul alone. It appears only when the third person is brought in and relations established with him. We are realizing more and more as he did that the kingdom of God depends upon a Church within a Church. As long as human nature remains what it is religion will have a social side, and as long as it has that social side, souls of like experience will instinctively gravitate together, and the nucleus they form will be the real Church of the living God, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. If it should be blotted out in a day, we would crawl on our hands and knees, if necessary, across the world to establish it once more. Even government and business will never consent for it to die. These men are the redeemers of society. "A man shall be as a hiding place from the wind, as a covert from the tempest, as streams of water in a dry place, as the shade of a great rock in a weary land." These are they who see things from God's viewpoint in the perspective of the eternal. No others are worthy the name.

When times were tense, Isaiah felt keenly the need of such a man. When Ahaz out of mock piety refused to ask for a sign, Isaiah gave him the sign of Immanuel. A young woman of marriageable age was to give birth to a son, and before that son should know how to choose between good and evil the lands of the kings of Syria and Israel would be laid waste and his own people

ruined. Immanuel would be forced to live on butter and honey, the only products of the devastated fields. Later he describes the prince of the four names who was to be an ideal king over his people, and later still he referred to him as a shoot out of the stock of Jesse. These splendid visions were realized only with the coming of the Messiah more than seven hundred years afterwards. God's kingdom was to endure forever. It was to conserve all the values known to man, and it is conserving them still. God is all; man is nothing. The conservation of the energies generated and liberated by him in human souls, the direction of these toward a better tomorrow under the leadership of God-called, God-commissioned, and God-intoxicated men and women—this is the task to which we, like these prophets, are committed.

Isaiah was a many-sided man. He was a philosopher, a statesman, a poet, a historian, a religionist, a theologian. He was at home in every grade of society, at the court of the king, where he always had entrée, in the highest social circles, among the common people, among the thinkers, among the ignorant. He could walk among kings and not lose the common touch. He could grapple with the mightiest problems, personal, social, economic, national and international, and yet write down in detail the list of a woman's wardrobe. (Chapter III.) He stands alone among all the ancient men—more hopeful than Amos, not so deeply tender as Hosea, not so narrow as Micah, not so emotional as Jeremiah, not so visionary or methodical as Ezekiel. He was original in gathering up all that was known in his day and under God making practical use of it. He embodied in himself the God-directed movement of a whole era. He met the tremendous issues of the moment with invincible courage. Fundamentally grounded in the old, open to the new, facing tomorrow, working at the heart of things with indefatigable energy, he faced the

frown of his age and at sixty became more than conqueror. Yet his last days were apparently failures. He disappears suddenly. Tradition says he was sawed in two. Then, as now, we crucify our saviors today and canonize them tomorrow.

VI

MICAH: Doing Justice, Loving Kindness, and Walking Humbly with God, the Essence of True Religion

(740–697 B. C.)

When Amos, driven out of Bethel, came back discouraged to his home in Tekoa, he might have met there a country lad from Moresheth Gath seventeen miles over the hills toward the sea, twenty miles southwest of Jerusalem. This boy, Micah by name, was destined to plead the cause of the country people against oppression by the cities, while Isaiah was crying out against the same evils from the standpoint of the city-bred gentleman. He was to be the opposite of Isaiah. Indeed, they all seemed to come in pairs; the one the opposite of the other. Elijah, the uncouth heroic antagonist of so-called civilization; Elisha, the plowman, polished later into an accomplished diplomat, courted by the kings of at least three countries: Amos, the rustic thunderer at social wrongs with no promise of redemption; Hosea, the cultured ambassador of a broken-hearted Father, pledging ultimate deliverance: Micah, the simple village patriot, voicing the struggles of his people under oppression by Jerusalem and Samaria; Isaiah, the blue-blooded statesman, pleading in the city the cause of the Kingdom among the nations. What a galaxy of civic and social redeemers, the last four working within a period of half a century!

The home of Micah is thus described by Sir George Adam Smith:

"It is the opposite exposure from the wilderness of Tekoa, some seventeen miles away across the watershed. As the home of Amos is bare and desert, so the home of Micah is fair and fertile. The irregular chalk hills are separated by broad glens, in which the soil is alluvial and red, with room for cornfields on either side of the perennial or almost perennial streams. The olive groves on the braes are finer than either those of the plain below or of the Judean table-land above. There is herbage for cattle. Bees murmur everywhere, larks are singing, and although today you may wander in the maze of the hills for hours without meeting a man or seeing a house, you are never out of sight of the traces of ancient habitation, and seldom beyond sound of the human voice—shepherds and ploughmen calling to their flocks and to each other across the glens. There are none of the conditions or the occasions of a large town. But, like the south of England, the country is one of villages and homesteads breeding good yeomen—men satisfied and in love with their soil, yet borderers with a far outlook and a keen vigilance and sensibility. The Shephelah is sufficiently detached from the capital and body of the land to beget in her sons an independence of mind and feeling, but so much upon the edge of the open world as to endue them at the same time with that sense of the responsibilities of warfare, which the national statesmen, aloof and at ease in Zion, could not possibly have shared."

Read the devastation of this beautiful country as Micah describes it in a wonderful play upon words in I.:8–16. He was close to the people and felt the sting of outrageous fortune, was perhaps himself a victim of the wrongs done the under class by the upper. He was the "Prophet of the poor." He suffered as he saw Jerusalem and Samaria sending out their agents to plunder his people and deprive them of their rights; as he saw land-grabbers seize ancient estates and mercilessly

oust widows and children; as he saw these same men cheating hirelings out of their wages, making and breaking contracts, devising means for robbing and stealing under cover of law; as he saw traders cheating with false balances, "skinning" their neighbors, "breaking their bones and chopping them in pieces as for the pot and as flesh within the caldron"; as he heard the prophets crying "Peace," when there was no peace, making war upon all who would not give them money; as he saw the courts selling justice; as he saw fine buildings go up in the city with blood-money; as he saw the leaders in every walk of life selling themselves and their neighbors; as he saw the foulest kinds of immortality practiced in the name of religion; as he saw late in life even the king compel his son to go through the fire to appease his God; as he saw friend play traitor to friend, son to father, daughter to mother, daughter-in-law to mother-in-law, wife to husband, and, no doubt, husband to wife—as he saw all these things, he spoke, because he must. Amos had received his call in terms of inward compulsion in the midst of daily duties; Hosea his, in terms of bitter grief; Isaiah received his call in terms of religious ritual; Micah received his in terms of human sympathy. He is nearer to the suffering of his people than either Amos, Hosea, or Isaiah. He was preeminently the prophet of the poor. He felt so keenly the oppression of the under class by the upper class, and the bitter suffering thus entailed, that he foresaw the utter destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem, these cities being the home of the ruling classes. He is the first of the prophets to threaten Jerusalem with total destruction, despite all the preaching and prophesying to the contrary, despite the assurance of his contemporary, Isaiah, even, that the Temple and its surroundings could not fall. So stirred was he by the social wrongs inflicted upon his people, that he paid no attention to political issues. Isaiah was an international statesman;

Micah, a social reformer of very great courage. He denounced Jerusalem, but escaped with his life. This escape was cited as a precedent in the trial of Jeremiah a hundred years later. He seems to have believed in reconstructing the social order. The others sought merely its cleansing. He championed the rise of the common man (Jeremiah 26:18.). How long his ministry lasted, whether a few weeks or several years, we do not know, but his message was decidedly felt for generations.

He shared the great ideas of the other 8th-century prophets. They all alike sought to correct the idea the people had of God as securing to them their inheritance and their place in the world without regard to their personal character. He was the God of Nature, of History, a moral God choosing or abandoning his people. He was moved, however, by passionate devotion to them, a devotion which brought grief to Him when he was compelled to inflict disasters upon them. We have here an example of the "law of the sudden leap." The cumulative tendencies of the preceding centuries came to a head in the splendid conception of Yahweh as a righteous God, demanding righteousness, as a Living God, demanding love, so nobly set forth. They all agreed in a powerful plea for social justice, for a square deal, not unlike the slogan now current. They thundered against special privilege, short weights, impure foods, real estate monopoly, unjust distribution of wealth, exploitation of the poor, profiteering, inadequate wages, robbery under cover of law, the social evil, one-sided religion which was substituted for morality, and an individualism which counted cheap the human right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Strangely enough, these are the things that are troubling us now. "Forty-four families with incomes of $1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate incomes total,

at the very least, fifty millions per year, are equivalent to 100,000 wage earners at the average rate of $500." According to Prof. W. I. King, our people are divided into three classes: The "Rich," 2% of the people, owning 60% of the wealth; the "Middle Class," 33% of the people, owning 35% of the wealth; the "Poor," 65% of the people, owning 5% of the wealth. "Two million people own 20 per cent more of the Nation's wealth than all the other ninety millions." This concentration of wealth increased during the war. Incomes ranging between $3,000 and $4,000 increased in number less than 3%; incomes between $15,000 and $20,000 increased almost 50%; incomes between $50,000 and $100,000 increased over 100%; incomes of $150,000 to $200,000, 216%; incomes of $1,000,000 and over, 243%. The greater the income, the more rapidly it multiplied. Or, in other terms, the surplus income of America was becoming concentrated, from 1914 to 1916, in fewer and fewer hands." "The largest private fortune of one billion dollars is equivalent to the aggregate wealth of 2,500,000 of those who are classed as 'poor,' each of whom owns $400." There are three hundred and fifteen families with incomes of $500,000 or more; one hundred and forty-one with incomes of a million or more.

Another example of the circle in which things human move is the present tendency toward land monopoly. Nineteen per cent of the farms of 1,000 acres or over, throughout the country, is said to be held by one per cent of farm owners. In these 1,000 acre farms, only 18–7/10 per cent of the land is said to be cultivated, as compared with 60 to 70 per cent in farms of from 50 to 499 acres. The greater part of these smaller uncultivated farms are held by real estate men, bankers and other absentee landlords. "More than four-fifths of the area of the large holdings is being held out of active use by their 50,000 owners, while 2,250,000 farmers are struggling for a bare existence on farms of less than 50 acres."

Yet another social note emphasized by the Eighth-Century prophets, now being revived, is that religion must be ethical. We need nothing so much as a new definition of justice rigorously applied in all our social relationships. Today, justice is the first call of the new humanics. Religion can never be a substitute for righteousness. If we do not love our brother man, whom we have seen, how can we love God, whom we have not seen? Brotherliness is as essential an element in religion as faith in God; brotherliness among individuals, among institutions, among communities, states and nations; brotherliness of the upper man with the under man, of the strong with the weak and the weak with the strong; brotherliness that is not spasmodic, but born of a deep and abiding love for simple human beings. Nor can ethics be substituted for religion.

These men, like ourselves, were hurled into a creative epoch. Their world was suddenly expanded; they were forced, as we are, to get an enlarged conception of God. The old would not suffice. The wider ranges of their national contacts multiplied their religious as well as their civic problems. God must now be big enough to be God of all, and with this enlarged God, it was necessary then, as it is now, to walk humbly. This was then, as now, as necessary an element in personal and social self-achievement as doing justice to neighbors.

The book of Micah falls into three parts, Chapters I to III, Chapters IV and V and Chapters VI and VII. The first three contain, exclusively, attacks upon sin and threats of punishment. Four and five are more hopeful, while six and seven alternate between hope and fear. The point of view and background in these sections cannot easily be made to fit into a definite, consecutive, historic situation, and many scholars have, therefore, contended against the unity of the book. The superscription says he prophesied "in the days of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah." It is impossible to say

whether this superscription, added later, can be relied upon.

He is the first of the prophets to threaten Jerusalem with total destruction, but, like Isaiah, he foresaw the coming of a Deliverer for his people, for the rehabilitation of the land.

"And thou, Beth Ephrathah,
The least among the clans of Judah,
From thee one will come forth for me,
Who will be ruler over Israel,
Whose origins are from of old, from ancient days,
And he will stand and shepherd (his flock) in the
strength of Yahweh,
In the majesty of the name of Yahweh, his God;
For now he will be great unto the ends of the earth."

The Deliverer will come, not from the great cities which are the curse of the people, but out of a little, obscure town, from among the people, from the ancient lineage of David.

Micah, like Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, is a great poet.

VII

J E (The Blending of J and E in the First Editions of the Hexateuch, Judges–Sam. 650–625 B. C.): The Spiritual Interpretation of History

The stream of life never moves far in a straight line. The good Hezekiah had sought to gather up the fruits of the prophetic work done during the latter half of the eighth century in social and religious betterment, but somehow people cannot stand the strain of long continued reform, hence the reaction under Manasseh. That reaction drove the disciples of these great prophets under cover. The king was able to keep peace abroad and to have his way at home. Open opposition was impossible. Of course, we can only guess at what was

done in secret, but there are indications of considerable literary activity. One form this activity took was the compilation of various historical materials current among the people. The longer narratives already described seem to have been combined in one consecutive story at this time, J and E into J E. They are all written from the prophetic viewpoint, saturated with the prophetic spirit, and insist upon the prophetic ideal.

If we were to write such a history, we would collect all available sources, and after a careful study of them, rewrite the story in our own language; but the historian of ancient Israel patched his sources together, preserving in many cases the exact language of each, in other cases trimming, adjusting and weaving together such words, clauses, sentences and paragraphs as suited his purpose and plan. The historian is a compiler of pre-existing documents rather then an original author, although he sometimes adds matter of his own. That the accounts he combines differ in literary characteristics and vary in historic statement, does not trouble him. His indifference to such variations enables us to go through the compilation back to the original sources.

The message of J E was terribly needed in the time of Manasseh. Sin in its vilest forms was rampant and no prophetic voice was strong enough to be heard in the open. Religion consisted chiefly of superstitious practices, such as those revealed in the background of Deuteronomy.

Kittel gives the following picture of the times:

"The Canaanitish and Assyrian deities, and foreign modes of worshipping God, gradually found their way into Jerusalem and into the Temple. The high-places and the altars are restored; the Asheras and Maccebas become once more parts of Israelitish worship; and even Kedeshas—*i. e.*, those dedicated to prostitution in the service of Astarte, or in connection with her worship—settle in the immediate neighborhood of the Temple. In

addition to all this that strange dark feature, which is often enough peculiar to the religion of Nature together with lascivious festivals and wild orgies, gets special prominence here, and the inhuman custom of sacrificing children appears to have flourished with exceptional vigour in the reign of Manasseh. In the valley of Hinnom, a gorge on the southern or western side of the Temple hill, are the places for sacrifice where children, slaughtered in honor of Melek (Moloch), are burnt. Besides this, we have the Assyrian star worship in its various forms. Manasseh, in fact, more than any other, is to be certainly classed among these kings of Judah before the time of Josiah, who kept sun-chariots and sun-horses close to the Temple: he carries on, at the same time, the worship of the 'host of heaven'; the sun-god is surrounded by a whole court of heavenly beings—the stars, who, as being his under-gods, claim their own peculiar worship. Even if Ahaz was the first to begin the worship of these Assyrian deities, it was under Manasseh, according to all the indications we have, that the worship was first carried on on an extended scale. The period from now to the reformation under Josiah is dominated by this mode of worship. That very reformation, and Deuteronomy, which was spiritually so closely related to it, show what a hold it had got in Judah. Even after this reform it was not quite rooted out. We shall find Jeremiah and Ezekiel complaining of it.

"There can scarcely be any doubt but that this close alliance with Assyrian modes of worship, which made such a deep impression on the life of Judah, is merely a symptom of something of a more general kind. If Assyrian religion was imitated to such an extent as was the case here, Judah, in Manasseh's time, must in general have drawn closer to Assyria in political matters, as in all the other departments of life. People got reconciled to the Assyrian vassalage, and began to admire

and imitate the whilom enemy. Assyrian life and thought, the customs and culture of Assyria, along with its religion, certainly became more familiar to Israel than had ever been the case before."

Under these circumstances, the cosmogony of Genesis alone made a tremendous appeal for the holy and righteous God of the prophets against the half heathen Yahweh then so popular among the people. Contrast with the Spiritual Being, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, the following older picture of the gods evolving out of Chaos:

When above the heaven was not yet named,
And the land beneath yet bare no name,
And the primeval Apsu (the abyss), their begetter,
And chaos (?), Tiamat, the mother of them both—
Their waters were mingled together,
And no field was formed, no marsh was to be seen;
When of the gods still none had been produced,
No name had yet been named, no destiny yet [fixed];
Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven?]
Lachma and Lachamu were produced,
Long ages passed. . .
Anshar and Kishar were created, and over them . . .
Long were the days, then there came forth . . .
Anu, their son . . .
Anshar and Anu . . .
And the god Anu . . .
Ea, whom his fathers, [his] begetters . . ."

And the beautiful Genesis account of the creation of man with this:

"When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
His heart prompted him and he devised [a cunning plan].
He opened his mouth, and unto Ea [he spake].
[That which] he had conceived in his heart he imparted
[unto him]:

'My blood will I take, and bone will I [fashion],
I will make man, that man may . . .
I will create man who will inhabit [the earth?]
That the service of the gods may be established, and
that their shrines [may be built].' "

The contrast between the grotesque Babylonian stories, taken over by the Assyrians, and the same materials simplified, purified, spiritualized, in Genesis, appears in every line of the creation Epic.

The stories of Adam and Eve, Cain, the Flood, Babel, of the suffering that followed just the kind of foreign things now so popular, were a tremendous protest against them all. Out of just such moral and religious ideals God had called Abraham, their progenitor, out of Ur of the Chaldees. The experience of Lot preached the dangers of bad entanglements. The preservation of Isaac dealt a telling blow to child sacrifice. For Abraham, under the spell of a fixed idea, was about to offer up the child of promise because he did not know how else to consecrate him to God, when the drawn knife was arrested and loyal faith taught a better way. Intermarriage with aliens was rebuked by the selection of Isaac's wife, an instructive case of eugenics.

So all through the book God's hatred for sin and fearful punishment of it is told without flinching.

But punishment is not his last word. When the first pair must be put out of the garden, to save them from the danger of eating of the tree of life and becoming immortal, it was done with infinite tenderness—even clothes were made for them. And hope was born of despair. The seed of the woman would bruise the serpent's head. Although the brilliant hope of a coming Messiah kindled by Isaiah and Micah had failed, the end was not yet. "In Genesis, more than in any other part of the Bible, God talks with men, as a father with his child." He is everywhere the Protecting, Providing, Guiding,

Sustaining, Sovereign, Controlling, Providence, the Great "Love that will not let us Go." Then as now He was struggling with His people in order through them to give the world an adequate religion. History is at bottom the onworking of spiritual forces.

VIII

Deuteronomy and D (650–550 B. C.): God in Common Life

We have seen that in the dark days of Manasseh the prophets had to work under cover. The king was a religious liberal of the worst type, fostering superstition, idolatry and immorality among the people. He maintained peace with the world by paying tribute to, and doing the bidding of, Assyria. His government was strong enough for him to have his way so that successful opposition by the moral leaders of the people was impossible. The great prophets of the eighth century had certainly left disciples, given to the study of their works and the propagation of their ideals. Shut up in closets of lone desire they were brought to a better understanding of the priests, with whom their forerunners could never get along. The prophetic viewpoint, the prophetic spirit, the prophetic outlook, the prophetic task, as well as the content of their teaching, had always differed from those of the priests, but they began now to find some things in common. So points of contact are worked out in the great Book of Deuteronomy, which was a compromise between the two contending forces, embodying the prophetic ideal in priestly institutions.

That this book comes out of this period is indicated not only by the background reflected in the book but also by the contents of the book itself. The prophetic teaching presupposes a relatively advanced stage of religious thinking far on the way toward Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The legislation lies midway between J E, upon

which it is very largely based, and P, more than a century later. There are apparent reminiscences of Solomon's day.

The particular forms of idolatry condemned are those practiced at this time. The reforms called for are those enforced by Josiah. The influence of Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, particularly of Hosea, is clear. The influence of this book upon Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah of Babylon is also clear. "The style of Deuteronomy implies a longer development of the art of public oratory and is not of a character to belong to the first age of Israelitish literature."

The pillar which was to be set up as a symbol of the conversion of Egypt, according to Isaiah, is here forbidden, showing an advanced stage of religious sentiment. The book is a stirring message to a critical situation. The country churches scattered all over Palestine in the days of the Canaanites, the centers of their superstitious and immoral worship, were taken over by the Hebrews with much of their grossness and immorality. How can the degraded practices of the people at these centers be corrected, idolatry destroyed, worship cleansed, and religion purified? It is supposed that this could be done by closing up the country churches and requiring that all ritual and ceremonial be centered in one government—controlled sanctuary under the shadow of the king's palace. This was reformation of the most radical character. What would the people of Texas think if all the rural churches were to be closed, and every worshipper compelled to come to Dallas? Yet it seemed to promise good results, for the king could then presumably keep his hand on the whole situation. The writer or writers, according to a well-understood custom of those times, presents his materials in the form of deliverances from Moses, the ancient law-giver, whom he represents as speaking in the third person.

The body of the book consists of three orations.

After a brief introduction (1, 1–5) the first discourse reviews the circumstances under which they had reached the border of the promised land, pleading in conclusion that they remember Horeb. After the account of the founding of the three cities of refuge East of the Jordan (4, 41-43) and the introduction (4, 44–49), the second discourse continues the body of the legislation proper (5 to 26). Chapter 27 represents the symbolic acceptance by the Hebrews of the Code thus given. The conclusion of the Code (28 to 29, 1) solemnly recounts the consequences upon observing or rejecting the law. Moses' third discourse (29, 2 to 30, 20) insists upon loyalty to Jehovah. The rest of the book consists of miscelleneous matters concluding with the blessing of Moses and the circumstances of his death.

The purpose of the writer or writers is not history primarily, nor law, but the enforcement of spiritual ideals in the whole life of the people. It is a great exhortation, with a style perfectly distinct and easily recognizable. Its rounded, oratorical periods, its constantly recurring phrases, its passionate pleas for the moral life, its earnest exhortations, its spiritual tone, had a tremendous influence. Indeed, "The Deuteronomic School" (D) is a term by which the disciples of these writers, continuing their activities in Israel for a long time, are generally known. They added portions of Joshua consist "largely of religious comments on historical events and exhortations to obedience (see Joshua 1:3–9, 12 f.; 23)." D is found scarcely at all in the first four books. Its contribution to the historical material in the Hexateuch is the least of all the sources. During the Exile the problems created by Deuteronomy and the history that followed its publication were grappled with by this school and wherever they touched the literature their touch shows an effort to bring it into line with the viewpoint of Deuteronomy. The date of D is supposed to be about 550 B. C. No one should be troubled by the

fact that this book represents Moses as speaking, though it does not credit him with authorship, for this was a device commonly used in ancient Israel. The spirit of the Mosaic institutions is here carried far forward. The book is an appeal for a Holy God, worshipped in a holy place, by a holy people, under holy leaders.

The story of its finding by Hilkiah in 621 B. C., while repairing the Temple under Josiah, is familiar. Who had written it and who had put it away, why the king sent it to Huldah instead of Zephaniah or Jeremiah, we shall probably never know.

Like the other books of the Old Testament, it seems at first glance to deal with things which to us have only a remote historical interest; yet a deeper study reveals great underlying principles for whose supremacy we need to plead now as earnestly as did this unknown author.

There is in the western world today what might be called a scramble for God. Men have lost their way. Borden P. Bowne says that modern science has left us with four infinitudes—the infinitude of space, the infinitude of time, the infinitude of energy, the infinitude of mystery. Revolutions have gone forward in our outer world by leaps and bounds, but the revolutions in our methods of religious thinking have not kept pace and the problem of the hour is to bring the manifold resources of the enlarging universe to bear upon the interpretation of God and to bring the idea of God thus enlarged to bear upon the problems of our everyday life. When we think the universe through, we find at the bottom two tremendous facts—first the fact of self—secondly the fact of Another. The task of putting these together when completed will work out a vital theology ample for all our needs. But that task has not been fully done. Medievalism still hangs on and we must bring our thinking in the field of religion forward till it overtakes, our thinking in the other great fields of human endeavor.

The superstitions of Deuteronomy are most interesting from a human standpoint, for all of them have a human basis and they are not so far from the superstitions of today. It would probably be possible to duplicate every one of them in America now. We are all incurably religious. The many new religions that have been springing up among us attest this fact and are withal not a wholly bad symptom. We have not yet reached the point of a purely spiritual religion. Our worship, much of it, is formal, conventional, unvital. Many of our public services are little more than a hotch-potch, prepared, if prepared at all, with no appreciation of the fact that an hour of worship is a work of art capable of producing a perfectly distinct impression, capable of making a real contribution to the life of those present. But such a service is difficult to construct. Prelude, hymns, prayers, anthems, lessons, sermon, benediction, postlude—the arrangement of these into one perfect whole reaching an adequate climax and carrying a compelling message, is possible only to an artist. Hence our churches all have a sort of centrally directed worship, a prescribed form.

The nation has a soul. Ancient Israel understood this. When shall we learn it? We must save our soul by conformity to spiritual laws, by making all life holy to God—our laws, our buildings, our social customs, our trades even, as well as all our human relationships, must be holy. Over the door of every factory and place of business, over the desk, over the counter, over the forge and over the field, must be written, "Holy to God" if we are to save our soul as a nation.

The deeper motives of life are here set forth with marvellous power. The initial moral momentum comes of the fact that God loves us. Over and over again the author pleads what God has done for Israel as a reason for their response. Hosea for the first time among men had felt and dared to preach the love of God for his

people and now more than a hundred years after we find another book palpitating with the same moving appeal. Because of that great fact love to Him and love to our fellow-men is not only our duty but our privilege. It is true that the ethics of Deuteronomy are not perfect. Little regard is given to the outsider until he establishes some relation within Israel, and one might easily pick a flaw, even in their internal ethics; but when all that is said, we still have love to God and neighbor, the great controlling motives of the Sermon on the Mount, set forth here more than half a millenium before.

How fitting that the book should give us blessings upon those who obey and curses upon the disloyal, for here as everywhere we are dealing with laws that are vital, fundamental, universal. While we may not apply them as the Deuteronomist did, their control over us is nevertheless relentless. He believed in material prosperity as the reward of religious devotion and this accentuated the dogma that all suffering is caused by sin, that adversity comes of moral wrong. This doctrine is still breaking hearts all over the world, notwithstanding its denial by Job and Jesus.

We have then in Deuteronomy a book that speaks to our problems, the problem of God, the problem of a religion that interprets adequately for to-day the Kingdom of God and applies that interpretation to the direction and control of the whole life.

IX

ZEPHANIAH: God's Part in a World War

(626 B. C.)

During the long reign of Manesseh, prophecy was in eclipse. With the accession of Josiah, about 638 B. C., new influences began to assert themselves. The boy king was destined to revive the prophetic principles. In about a dozen years, a new situation began to develop. The Scythians, an almost irresistible horde of barbarians, breaking loose from their mountain fastnesses in the North, came pouring down upon the West, even as far as Egypt, sweeping everything before them. It looked as if they might devastate all that part of the world. Their appearance called out two prophets, Zephaniah and Jeremiah.

Zephaniah saw in this world war the coming of the Day of Yahweh. Of the prophet as a man, we know nothing except what is given in the book. He is said to be a great-great-grandson of Hezekiah, supposed to mean King Hezekiah. He shows great familiarity with Jerusalem, with the social and religious customs of the times, and with the character of the privileged classes. He is not a spokesman of the poor, as was Micah. There is no evidence that he ever felt the pinch of poverty or the sting of misfortune. He betrays no deep sympathies, no heart-breaking emotions; he speaks almost as an outsider. He talks straight to the point in language none could misunderstand. He is not a great poet. Such sensitiveness as that of Jeremiah is foreign to him. But he had a message and gave it with power. Like the other prophetic books, this is thought to have been edited and added to by a later hand. Prof. J. M. Powis Smith finds minor glosses and says, "The oracle against Moab and Ammon (2:8–9) is relegated to later times since its phraseology presupposes the conditions of the

exile as actually existing. An expansion of this oracle is found in 2:10–11. The fall of Nineveh is taken for granted in 2:15, which is therefore placed after that event. In the third chapter the only original matter is found in vv. 1–5. Vv. 6,7 may possibly be old material; but in that case they are out of place in their present context. Vv. 8–13 are a post-exilic addition, in which is now included a gloss (vv. 9–10) revealing a different attitude toward the heathen and interrupting the continuity of thought between vv. 8 and 11. Vv. 14–20 are another addition from post-exilic times, which has likewise undergone some inner expansion." But its final touches were added as late as the Greek period.

The book is poetic in form, the kinah metre, which is a dirge-like rhythm, prevailing. It is composed of eight oracles.

In the first oracle (1:2–6), he portrays the general judgment now impending over the world with special reference to Judah. His picture of religious conditions in Jerusalem is graphic. God will cut off Baal to the last remnant, the idle priests, those worshipping the hosts of heaven upon their roofs, those who mix the worship of Milcom with that of Yahweh, the backsliders, the indifferent. The first to be struck then, as now, were those with inadequate religious faith. Where was God in 1914? Where is He now? Such questions show that his own people utterly misunderstand Him. They are worshippers of idols—idols not made with hands, but formed in the habits of thought and life; they are worshippers of mongrel gods; they are faddists; they are those who have not taken the trouble to think through their religion. God is spirit; God is light; God is life; God is love. If so, He uses spiritual means to achieve ends which are spiritual. If so, He gives us freedom to quarrel and be bad, as well as good. The world war is but a part of the great human struggle incident to our moving out of the infinite past, with its small beginnings, into an

infinite future, with its far-off goal, and He, Himself, is involved in the struggle.

In the second oracle (1:7–18), God is shown offering up his own people as a sacrifice, with aliens as His guests. Things inadequate, outgrown, obstructive, sinful, must go, both men and institutions. A world crisis is a testing time. God goes about with a lamp, searching for and bringing out men into the light. Vampires and saints, alike, are shown up. Practical atheists, who think God will do neither good nor evil and therefore give themselves up to materialistic idols, are stricken beyond redemption.

In the three brief oracles following he applies the doctrine of sowing and reaping to nations. Philistia is to be utterly devastated (2:1–7); Moab and Ammon are to reap what they have sown (2:8–11). They have vaunted themselves against Judah; therefore, they shall become "a possession of nettles and salt-pits, and a perpetual desolation: the residue of my people shall make a prey of them, and the remnant of my nation shall inherit them." National sowing and reaping—this is God's inevitable law, as exact and exacting as the law of gravitation. The Ethiopians are to be slain by the sword, Assyria is to be destroyed, Nineveh become a desolation; "the owl will hoot in the window, the raven on the threshold." The Scythians did not destroy Egypt, and they did not make Nineveh a drought like the desert; canals were everywhere. The complete downfall of Ethiopia came a hundred years later, that of Nineveh nineteen years after. These impending national disasters set forth the doom always awaiting national wrongs. Only the right has a chance.

For God so overrules the wrong of men as to establish His righteousness in their midst. "Light fails not": the moral order of the world is as certain as the physical (3:1–7). The people whose leaders are heedless or disloyal to God, reckless, treacherous, irreverent, unteach-

able, are heading for trouble, for God is against them all and acts with unfailing regularity. "Every morning doth he bring his justice to light, he faileth not."

In a world crisis God not only destroys nations that are unrighteous, but also out of the turmoil and confusion He gathers a people democratic in spirit and loyal to Him (3:8–13). Wickedness, lies, a deceitful tongue, secret diplomacy—all these must go, that His people may "feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid." Out of the suffering, anguish and bitterness of such an awful hour God brings a new sense of brotherhood.

The eighth oracle pictures redeemed Israel unafraid, rejoicing in God's love and fellowship, made a name and a praise in all the earth (3:14–20).

Such is the part of God in a world war, such the ultimate use of the Day of Yahweh. Our world struggles are but the birth pangs of a new day. They must be viewed in the perspective of the eternal eye; for God is spiritual, we are spiritual, and His methods of dealing with us are spiritual. That means that they are slow, often tedious, often disappointing, not seldom misunderstood. He leads us on not by force, but by love. He is patient with life, for He is Himself involved in the universal ongoing. That ongoing will ultimately confiscate national ideals and institutions that are inadequate, and out of it all will come a new spirit, a new attitude toward all things, a new outlook upon life and a new experience of God. A new song will be started in the hitherto bleeding heart of the world.

X

JEREMIAH: Rights and Responsibilities of the Individual
(626–580 B. C.)

Isaiah had preached with telling effect the inviolability of the Temple. It was Jehovah's home and could never fall. Hence, the nation was secure. They were Jehovah's chosen people, and he could not alienate them. All life had been centered in the nation on the one hand and the cult on the other. No man thought of himself as separate from the organized group. But now the forces are gathering that will bring the collapse of the nation. Israel was already gone a century. The little city state of which Jerusalem was the center was all that was left of the chosen people and the promised land, and around that the coils were slowly tightening. The first menace was from a countless horde of cruel barbarians from the far north that were swooping down on Syria. The Scythians were scouring the west coast down to Egypt.

One spring morning the young priest, Jeremiah, was walking out in his home town of Anathoth (626 B. C.), two or three miles from Jerusalem, observing the rows of almond trees, beautiful with their pink-white blossoms. They were waking from their long winter sleep. The Hebrew root for "wake" is the same as that for "almond." "I see," thought the young priest, "Jehovah has been asleep so far as his promises are concerned, but he too is about to wake." At once, he recognized in the inward thought the distinct voice of God. Then followed the struggle. He must be set for destruction and for rebuilding, and must be over other nations than his own; but he was only a boy with no gift of speech. Yet Jehovah convinced him that he must be "a fortified city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls, against the whole

land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, and against the people of the land." Words both tragic and glorious these! Born in time of bitter persecution of the true prophets under Manasseh, reared in a godly home with noble traditions, carefully educated, deeply emotional, and profoundly religious, he was predestined to fill a unique place in history. He was so close to God that he felt himself quite absorbed in the divine. Then he was so close to his people that their grief was his pain. Other prophets were preachers, while he was more. "In his ardent prayers he fairly battles with God for the salvation of his people" till told he must not pray for them any more. Such a sufferer the world has rarely seen. Yet he is divinely compelled to go on telling deaf ears of coming doom. The beautiful poems in the first six chapters of his book were probably his first productions, written under the spell of the Scythian devastation. They are powerful, passionate lyrics, for he was one of the greatest of the poets. Take, for example, "The Vision of the Last Man" (iv. 23–26):

"I beheld the land, and, lo,
It was without form and void;
And the heavens, and there was no light there.

I beheld the mountains, and, lo,
(They were) trembling,
And all the hills swayed themselves lightly.

I beheld (the earth) and lo!
There was no man there
And all the birds of heaven were fled (away).

I beheld the fruitful land, and, lo,
(It was) a desert.
And all the cities were razed 'fore Jahveh's face."
(Gillies).

"The prophet sees himself surviving the judgment he predicts and treading the ashes of an extinct world."

Five years after his call the law was discovered and the good Josiah set about the great reformation. All went well for awhile; but when the noble king fell in battle, new troubles began. They had been taught that if they would keep the law they would prosper; yet their only dependence was suddenly stricken in the midst of heroic efforts to rule in righteousness. Jehoiakim and Zedekiah were the one viciously antagonistic to prophecy, the other weakly sympathetic. The people were relying upon Isaiah's doctrine of the inviolability of Zion. Jeremiah saw the impending catastrophe and exhausted every available means to avert it. Assyria, Egypt, the Medes, and the Chaldeans were all maneuvering for position. In 606 Nineveh fell and with it Assyria disappeared. The year after the fall of Nineveh Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt and seized the whole west down to the Nile.

During these stormy years Jeremiah alone had vision enough to see the way out, but could not make anybody else see it. His methods of work are very interesting. He takes a group of elders down to the foot of the hill and breaks an earthen jar to indicate coming ruin, buys a fine girdle out of all proportion to his simple apparel, and goes out of town, perhaps to a neighboring settlement, and buries it till it is marred and then wears it again to show how the nation is to be buried in and marred by captivity. When hope was darkest, he took as his text the making of pottery on the potter's wheel, the reforming of the moist clay by the potter when the piece was spoiled in the making to preach the glorious gospel of a new start. When an international congress is in session planning revolt from Babylon, he appears with a yoke on his neck to predict that they would all have to submit. He is in prison and is approached by a cousin with an offer of land in his native town, while the

Babylonians were encamped on the spot, and buys it to prove his faith in the future. He speaks in public places, in the Temple, in the intimacy of royal apartments, wherever he can get a hearing. But "he was despised and rejected of men." When he begged for loyalty to their overlord, he was a traitor. When he sought to encourage by promises for the future, he was a fool. When he pled for keeping their contract made in their deepest peril to free their slaves, he was a knave. When during the siege he started to go home on private business, he was arrested for a deserter to the enemy. He was slapped in the face, beaten, imprisoned, let down in a boggy cistern and left to starve, but rescued by a foreigner's intervention with the king. He was tried for his life and in every way humiliated. He was ordered to keep silent because his talk was weakening the army and hurting the nation's cause. No wonder he had the blues and cursed his birthday! He longed for a boarding house in the wilderness where he could escape the crowd, yet keep in touch with the world. He would have liked to shirk his inexorable task, but had a fire in his bones that urged him on. When Jehoiakim burnt his book, he rewrote it with his faithful secretary's help. Indeed, Baruch has saved much of his career from oblivion. He was what Boswell was to Johnson. Sensitiveness to environment is the measure of life. Hence this was one of the world's most alive men, for he suffered every step of his way. Deprived of the blessings of home life and condemned to the thankless task of telling his own people the truth about themselves, he worked for more than forty years, first, trying to save them from political folly, then seeking to encourage those in captivity. Refusing the friendship of royalty in Babylon, when Jerusalem finally fell and he was captured, preferring to stay with the fragments at home, he was dragged by them as a sort of fetish to Egypt after protesting against their flight thither. He is

said to have been at last stoned to death by those he loved more than life.

The problems before him were not unlike many now upon us. It was a transition period. All the old institutions crumbled away. The State fell, the Church with it, and men were carried a thousand miles away from every holy place, from God also, for they thought of him as living in Jerusalem. Torn up by the roots and cast upon alien soil to serve an alien people, could the individual survive? Could he worship God without the machinery of worship? Was he bigger than this calamity? They attributed their disasters to their fathers' sins, but he to their own. "Every one shall die for his own iniquity." Yes, he preached, the individual can survive the State, the Church, the wreck of all things under God, for with him he is bigger than all. We too are in danger of swamping the individual. These are days of great enterprises, of great pacts and parties, of social solidarity, and the little man is in peril. But the rights of the individual are beginning to be called for more and more. Jeremiah was the first to preach them. He preached also the inalienable responsibilities of the individual.

Inwardness in religion followed his doctrine of the individual. The time was coming when the new covenant would be recognized as written in the heart. Men then as now were using the symbols of religion without feeling its power. They were crying, "The burden of the Lord, the burden of the Lord, the burden of the Lord," "the temple of the Lord," and were going through the forms of worship without its experience. Our problem is to use the old symbols in such a way as to make them vital still. There is danger lest we too perform lip service with sacred words. God was not far away, but tried the reins—the innermost soul. He was not an absentee God, and the idols were nothing. Jeremiah set religion free and established it on a purely

spiritual basis. He saw the whole world being mobilized to learn of his people.

He pleaded for a patriotism that faced the facts. He pointed out the worst, but saw also the best. He had seen reform tried and had seen it fail, and then preached social salvation by regeneration—circumcision of heart. We are crying for the same thing. Let us not forget that we are to be saved one at a time and by divine power alone. Regeneration rather than mere reformation is our only hope.

The news of heroism at the going down of the Titanic and the Lusitania made us all glad we are members of the human race, for souls there were bigger than the sea. So also now in battles on land, on the sea, and in the air, as well as in sorrow and suffering at home. So were men bigger than the California earthquake, so like Belgium they have been bigger than invincible armies,—so have they been bigger than a thousand disasters. Jeremiah would have Judah feel that they were bigger than captivity and that God would bring them out of it all chastened for service to the whole world and to future ages. He stood between them and God and fought for both. His was an incarnate conscience, his an atoning life. Yes, man stripped of everything is yet bigger than anything that can happen to him!

There was a goodly company of coworkers during his long career—Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah of Babylon, the author of Job (possibly), the author of Lamentations, and Psalmists not a few, to say nothing of literary clubs, so to speak, giving themselves to codifying laws and editing extant works of various kinds.

The first twenty-five chapters of the book are mainly auto-biographical, being for the most part in the first person, while the remainder uses the third.

Gray suggests the following chronological arrangement:

1. Belonging to Josiah's reign, or to the opening years of Jehoiakim (626–603): i. 4–19, iii. 6–18, and probably (most of) the remainder of ii–vi., vii. I.–ix. 26, x. 17–25, xi. I.–xii. 6, xxii. 10–19 (judgments on Josiah, Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, now grouped with judgments on two later kings in xxi. II.–xxiii. 9). Possibly also parts of xiv.–xvii., xviii.–xx. also belong to this period.

2. Late in Jehoiakim's reign, between 604 and 597: possibly xiv.–xvii. (except 19–27), xviii.–xx., if these are not earlier (see under 1), xii. 7–17.

3. Reign of Jehoiachin (597 B. C.): xxii. 20–37, and parts of xiii. (at least 18, 19).

4. Reign of Zedekiah (599–586): xxiv., xxiii. 9–40 (probably), xxi. 1–10, 13 f. (588 B. C.). To this period, or to a time after the fall of the monarchy, may belong the genuine fragments (*e. g.*, xxxi. 31–34) preserved among much later and non-Jeremianic matter in xxx. f.

5. Finally, we may classify the narratives of xxvi.–xlv. not necessarily according to the time at which they were written, but according to the time at which they refer: this is in many cases specified:—

Date	*Chapter*
Jehoiakim (608 B. C.)	xxvi.
" 4 and 5 (604, 603)	xlv., xxxvi.
Jehoiakim (c. 600)	xxxv.
Zedekiah (c. 597)	xxvii., xxix.
" 4 (593)	xxviii., li. 59–64. —
" 9-11 (598–586)	xxxiv. 1–7 (first part of the siege of Jerusalem); xxxvii. 1–10 and xxxiv. 8–22 (interval during which the siege was raised); xxxvii. 11–xxxviii. 28a, xxxix. 15–18, xxxii., xxxiii. (second part of the siege).

After the fall of Jerusalem xxxviii. 28b, xxxix. 3–14, xl.–xliv. Section 1 in this outline probably contains the material embodied in the book which was destroyed by Jehoiachin. This is the substance of the prophet's teaching during the first twenty-three years of his ministry. It was rewritten in 603. He gathered about him a group of disciples, some of whom evidently wrote the biographical portions of Chapters 26 to 45. It is not impossible that the book circulated in several editions.

There is a noteworthy difference between the Greek and Hebrew texts. There are passages which seem to point beyond Jeremiah's time, such as 46 to 51, 52 being an extract from Second Kings. The destruction of the Temple is looked back to in the distance, and of Babylon is now imminent.

While the body of the book, therefore, appears to be the product of Jeremiah's pen or of those immediately connected with him, there are editorial and other additions belonging to a later period.

XI

NAHUM: Vengeance upon Cumulative Wrongs

(608–606 B. C.)

The first paragraph of the Book of Nahum sets forth the avenging wrath of Yahweh, which, though reluctant, is certain. It throws the physical universe into convulsions. Those who oppose Him are utterly destroyed, but He is good and shields those who trust in Him. The next paragraph threatens an unnamed foe, and promises respite to Judah: "Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!" Therefore, Judah may go on feasting; she is safe. The second and third chapters give vivid pictures of the attack upon Nineveh—the battle in the streets, the fleeing of the citizens, the

plunder of the city, the reason for it, and the plaudits called out among all peoples.

The unity of the book is now seriously questioned; 1:2–10 is an acrostic, and, therefore, superficial and far below the freshness and power of the rest of the book; it is meditative, abstract, wholly unlike the fury of the second and third chapters; its vagueness and quietness suggest a later authorship. The same may be said of verses 12, 13 and 15, which would make the beginning of the genuine book, 1:11,14; 2:1,3. This makes an abrupt beginning, and suggests that the original was dropped to make place for the present introduction; 3:18,19 are also suspected as later than the rest of the book. While the acrostic in the first chapter is superficial, the real book is high-class poetry, mainly in hexameter verse. It has been called the hottest book in the Old Testament. The description of the battle in the streets is so vivid that you can hear the crack of the whip, the rattling of the wheels, the prancing of the horses, the pounding of the chariots; and see the horsemen mounting, the sword flashing, the spear glittering—and then, the multitude of the slain, upon whose bodies the fighters stumble. It is impossible to conceive a more realistic and powerful picture. The whole scene comes vividly before us, with the tremendous excitement incident to such an event.

The limits within which we are to date the book are the Destruction of Thebes, in 661 B. C. (3:8) and the Fall of Nineveh, in 606 B. C. The first seems rather fresh in the mind of the author, and the second imminent. It is not easy to find the intervening point at which the book arose. Approaching the earlier date takes us too far from the later, and vice versa. The intensity of Nahum's feeling toward Nineveh, and the boldness with which he expresses it, suggest that the power of their oppressor is broken and her prestige gone. It seems better, therefore, to take the date immediately

preceding the Fall, namely, 608–606 B. C. At all events, we now see the ending of the Assyrian empire, which had called out Amos and helped to start the great movement of written prophecy, one hundred and fifty years before.

Beyond the meager information contained in the book itself, we know nothing of the prophet. Some have thought that he wrote in Nineveh, but present opinion assigns him to Palestine. He was a patriot, given to looking on the bright side of things, though he suffered intensely because of the oppression of his people by the Assyrians. He gloats over the disaster now imminent upon the ancient enemy. He makes no reference to the sin of Israel. Indeed, he seems to feel that everything is going right. All the wrongs are on the side of the enemy, and all the pent-up indignation they have been causing bursts forth, here, into fury. He is a typical stand-patter in theology. The people belong to Yahweh and cannot be permanently deserted by Him. They had been afflicted by cruel foes, and the righteousness of Yahweh must be demonstrated by the utter destruction of those foes. All that was necessary for the chosen people was to go on henceforth as hitherto, with their cult and traditional duties. There was nothing new to learn. The old religion was good enough for any age; there was no thought of its ever becoming inadequate. There was nothing now to be alarmed about; there was everything to cause exultation.

Nahum is the mouthpiece not only of Judah, but of all the crushed peoples roundabout, who, having been one in sorrow, one in suffering, can now be one in rejoicing. The ancient faith is now to be restored to its former prestige.

It is not impossible that this was a diplomatic answer to things Jeremiah was saying in Jerusalem. Jeremiah, like his predecessors, was deeply distressed over the sins

of his people and too terribly alarmed over their impending ruin to think much about what was happening outside. He and his disciples were held to be traitors because they told the truth. Nahum, if not an administration man, was so close to it that he and the party to which he belonged were at least willing to see Jeremiah go down without risking the least effort to help him.

Nevertheless, the book presents a permanent truth, namely, the inevitable doom of oppressors of every kind.

XII

HABAKKUK: The Answer Faithfulness Gets to Spiritual Perplexities

(605–604 B. C.)

The poet-prophet Habakkuk differs from the others in two respects: His book seems not to be a record of a spoken discourse, but a literary production. Secondly, it is not, like the others, an address to the people for God, but an appeal to God for the people, raising questions about God Himself. It is the beginning of that deeper speculation in Israel so nobly expressed in the Book of Job. There is a conflict between faith and the facts of life.

The interpretation of the book is beset with difficulties. As the text now stands, the course of thought seems to be as follows: The first paragraph (1:1–4) describes a condition of moral anarchy, and oppression in Israel in the days of Jehoakim. Good people are suffering at the hands of their wicked brethren. The prophet asks why and is told, in 5–11, that Yahweh is raising up the terrible Chaldeans to punish wicked Israel. But that only intensifies the problem. How can God use a cruel empire to punish people more righteous than themselves (1:12–17)? The only comfort given is that he too shall pass. There must be something else to be said and the

prophet betakes himself to his watch-tower for further answer, whereupon he is told to write the vision upon tablets plainly that one may read it readily. It might not be fulfilled at once but must be waited for; therefore, it was to be written on clay tablets and preserved during the intervening years. And this is the oracle that was to be written:

"Behold his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him;
But the righteous shall live by his faithfulness."

He follows this with the working out of these two ideas; the first in a group of five taunt songs upon the Chaldeans by their victims. From the last of these woes on stupid idol worship, he passes in magnificent contrast to the advent of the Living God, for the destruction of the wicked and the saving of his people, in Ch. 3.

When we begin to inquire more closely who the righteous and the wicked are, we get into trouble. Some think the righteous in the first paragraph are Judah as a whole, under oppression by some unnamed foe. This foe is thought by some to be Assyria; by others to be Egypt; by still others, the Chaldeans. In the last case, the description of the Chaldeans in the following paragraph only explains more fully their wickedness. If the wicked in the first paragraph be some outside oppressor, then it is thought the second paragraph should be transposed to follow 2:4. This would make the righteous mean Judah, throughout, and the wicked their oppressor whose fate is described.

There are those, also, who find evidence of several authors in the book. Of course, the dates of particular parts will depend upon the critical conclusions as to their authorship. The poem in Ch. 3 was used for a musical recitation in the Temple worship. It was written by one whose spirit was thoroughly saturated with the ancient traditions of his people. So far, no conclusive reasons have been given against Habakkuk as

the author of the whole book, with probably some later editorial and other additions. If this is true, he wrote somewhere near the rise of the Chaldeans to world proportions in the Battle of Karkemish, when the Egyptians were defeated. The coming of the Assyrians called out Amos and Hosea, of the Scythians, Jeremiah and Zephaniah; the fall of Nineveh, Nahum, and the rise of Chaldea, Habakkuk.

Both ideas in the vision are important for critical periods, for periods in particular where wrong seems irresistible. The first implies that the wrongdoer carries the seeds of his destruction in his own bosom. How after all does God punish? If those responsible for the world war had been struck by lightning and their country devastated by plague, many would count this divine retribution. But that is not God's way. Such a procedure would have been to abandon spiritual means, methods and processes and substitute the ideal of force for the force of the ideal. Such a God would be a monster to be feared rather than a Father to be loved. All Jesus lived and died for would be abandoned and we would return to the theology of the jungle at a leap.

But how then does God punish? One has only to read the daily papers with their stories of blood and tears to realize that we are punished by our sins rather than for them. They bring us the shriveling up of the soul, the deadening of the finer instincts and sensibilities, the blinding of the eyes, the chilling of the heart, the foregoing of the nobler motives, the drying up of the springs of life till nothing but a shell is left. I have known at least one man who lived the life of camouflage till he became incapable of an honest thought or an unselfish act. Our sins also destroy our ability inwardly to command others. They may shy off from us without either knowing why. The punishment of bad living is less life.

These ideas are worked out with dramatic vividness in

the maladictions following the vision. The nations that have suffered at the hands of the Chaldeans are called to pronounce sentence upon their enemies.

"Shall not all these take up a parable against him, and say: 'Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his.'"

The second half of the oracle is of great value also. Not only must we not be discouraged because we cannot see with our physical eyes the spiritual penalties being executed by sins, but we must also keep fresh in our hearts the assurance that no faithfulness ever fails.

The Old Testament, which has no word for expressing fully the idea of faith as an active principle, contains the great promise that faithfulness arrives sometime, somehow.

God's faithfulness is our hope, but it must be met by our faithfulness. Paul quoted this passage in argument for justification by faith. The half-dozen centuries between these two utterances, with the intervening coming of our Lord, brings us in the latter to the final key that unlocks for us the resources of the spiritual world. Faithfulness as a method of living is one thing; faith another. The compelling passion for faithfulness may keep us under the merciless lash of an awful must and make all life little more than an exacting and joyless task. Faith, on the other hand, brings us to the higher altitudes of freedom and joy because it brings us into touch with our Living Friend who understands and upholds.

Forgetting either half of Habakkuk's vision always brings us into trouble. Punishment is sure, sudden, adequate, by the working of inexorable spiritual laws, each of which exacts mercilessly its pound of spirit. Reward is equally sure, sudden, adequate, by the working of these same laws, each of which returns automatically the exact equivalent of every upward struggle and every rightly used pain.

In response to the prophet's cry for a revival in the midst of the years, God comes in a glorious theophany (Chapter 3). He comes to validate the two promises, the punishment of wrong and the reward of faithfulness. Here as always, however, he solves our deepest problems not merely in the region of the cold intellect, but by giving us the satisfying sense of Himself. This is life eternal to know Him and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. Feeling the thrill of His touch, the prophet is overwhelmed but rallies and exclaims:

"Though the fig-tree bear no fruit,
And there be no yield on the vines;
Though the olive labor fail,
And the field bring forth no food;

Though the flock be cut off from the sheepfold,
And no cattle be found in the stalls;
Yet I will exult in Jahweh,
I will joy in the God of my salvation;

For Jahweh the Lord is my strength,
He is my Rock, and none else;
He maketh my feet like hinds' feet,
And causeth me to walk on my heights."
(Gordon)

So doubt rounds out in triumphant faith.

"Once own the use of faith, I'll find you faith.
We're back on Christian ground. You call for faith:
I show you doubt, to prove that faith exists.
The more of doubt, the stronger faith, I say,
If faith o'ercomes doubt. How I know it does?
By life and man's free will, God gave for that!
To mould life as we choose it, shows our choice:
That's our one act, the previous work's his own.
You criticise the soul? it reared this tree—
This broad life and whatever fruit it bears!

What matter though I doubt at every pore,
Head-doubts, heart-doubts, doubts of my fingers' ends,
Doubts in the trivial work of every day,
Doubts at the very bases of my soul
In the grand moments when she probes herself—
If finally I have a life to show."

In the midst of the struggle one can take refuge in Washington Gladden's beautiful lines:

In the bitter waves of woe,
Beaten and tossed about
By the sullen winds that blow
From the desolate shores of doubt,
Where the anchors that faith had cast
Are dragging in the gale,
I am quietly holding fast
To things that cannot fail;
I know that right is right,
That it is not good to lie,
That love is better than spite
And a neighbor than a spy;
I know that passion needs
The leash of a sober mind;
I know that generous deeds
Some sure reward will find:
That the ruled must obey,
That the givers must increase;
That duty lights the way
For the beautiful feet of peace,
In the darkest night of the year,
When the stars are all gone out,
Courage, I know, is better than fear,
And faith is truer than doubt;
And fierce though the fiends may fight,
And long though the angels hide,

I know that truth and right
Have the universe on their side;
And somewhere beyond the stars
Is a Love that is better than hate
And when night unlocks her bars,
I shall see Him—so I will wait.

XIII

OBADIAH: National Doom upon National Arrogance and Unbrotherliness

(580 B. C.)

Of the personal life and character of Obadiah we know nothing, except that he was probably a native of Judah. There are two items that suggest materials for determining the date. One is the occasion of the prophesy.

At the capture of Jerusalem, Edom, though not the principal assailant, had taken malignant delight in Judah's calamity, had shared in the plunder of the city, had intercepted the fugitives, butchering or enslaving them. The question, of course, is what capture is meant, and the answer generally accepted is that by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B. C. The other item is the amount of material used by both Jeremish (49, 7-22) and Obadiah (1–9). Which quoted? Or did both quote from a still older source? It is supposed that the latter is the case. The form is more original in Obadiah. It would appear that both quoted, Jeremiah using the passage more freely. The earlier part of the book was likely written soon after the fall of Jerusalem and the whole reworked late in post-exilic times.

Edom had a right to suppose that her city out in the solid rock, was eternally secure. She was too busy on the heights she revelled in to see life whole and see it steadily. All of her wisdom and understanding will,

therefore, finally go for nought. Her mighty men with all their power will be utterly destroyed. The Day of Yahweh is coming when they would reap as they had sown, when their dealing should return upon their own head. In Mount Zion there shall be those who escape, and it shall be holy and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions and saviors shall come upon Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau and the kingdom shall be Yahweh's.

We have in another form the great promises of Habakkuk. Edom carried in her own bosom the seeds of her destruction. She was punished by her sins rather than for them. The very elements of character that made her feel so high and mighty brought her down at last at the crack of final doom. And now, though rock-hewn, she is desolate.

XIV

EZEKIEL: The Rôle of Religion in Society (592–570 B. C.)

It is perhaps impossible for us now to appreciate the terrors of ancient captivity. Assyrian bas-reliefs show men, women and children from conquered cities marching with bowed heads and hands fastened behind their backs, beaten with staves by merciless guards. No man can stand before one of these without being profoundly moved. One cannot help regretting that among all the thousands dragged from Jerusalem on that long three months' journey there was no one to write the details. Surely they owed us at least one great poem setting forth their tragic experience. Think of a sensitive soul like Ezekiel thus driven under lash! Why did he not tell us the story? For he was among the flower of the nation, captured in 597 B. C. The long journey over, what of their experience in Babylon? Here we are on surer ground. To start with, they must have suffered

from the contrast between Babylonia and Palestine. They were mountaineers now settled on the dead level. As far as the eye could see there were here and there mounds, ruins of ancient towns and cities, but the old-time mountains nowhere in sight. What inexpressible homesickness must have come over them! Babylonia is almost east of New Orleans, and the soil, climate, and general conditions are very much the same except less water. The whole country is interlaced with canals for irrigation.

The exiles fell into four classes: First, political, made up of the nobility, many of whom were perhaps given light sentences. Secondly, property holders, induced to join the deported and given special privileges in their new homes. Thirdly, the rank and file of active rebels, who were set rigorous tasks under compulsion. Finally, the rank and file who were not especially obnoxious and who were put to work in various occupations. Of course they would all continue as far as possible the lines of work to which they were used. Craftsmen would continue their various crafts, and farmers would be employed on the farm. The rebuilding of old communities and the extension of the canal system would require an immense amount of labor. What they became afterwards would depend upon their personal efficiency.

The general policy of Babylonia was more or less liberal to the deported. Probably the chief community of the Jews was on the canal Chebar, where Ezekiel lived. They were encouraged to build up homes. Jeremiah so wrote them. Their church life was without the forms of religion except as they invented new methods of expressing their spiritual experiences. The Fasts, the Synagogue, the Sabbath, came to the fore. Many gave themselves to thought, to meditation, and to writing. Some of the greatest books of the Old Testament came out of that marvelous period.

They seem to have had a sort of internal government

by elders who at regular intervals, resorted to Ezekiel for counsel. They were for the first time up against an imperial world power in a way hitherto unknown to them. All their conceptions of life had to be reconstructed. The relation of the individual to God, the character of God Himself, had to be thought through again. The nation was gone, hence God must be more than the God of the nation. The one central figure in all the thousands of captives was Ezekiel, the priest from Jerusalem.

For the first time we have the picture of a pastor charged with responsibility for every man, woman, and child among his people. The cure of souls was first committed to him. The difference between him and the modern pastor is that we visit, while enquiring spirits came to Ezekiel at his home. It was dangerous to venture out till his predictions were verified by the fall of Jerusalem. His call came five years after his deportation. By the canal of Chebar one day he saw in a vision a magnificant airplane come whirring out of the north with symbols of the throne of God above it. The popular conception of God was that he lived in Jerusalem and was confined to that territory. This was a symbolic representation of his removal from the promised land to Babylonia to take his abode among the people, having deserted the Temple. A voice called for the prostrated Ezekiel, overwhelmed at the glory of the mighty God, to stand upon his feet. Then he is commissioned to speak to the rebellious and impudent people whether they would hear or forbear. But he must first digest the book he is to deliver, eat the roll, make it his own, get it into his system. Then follows a long series of symbolic actions and addresses, intended to bring home to the people that Jerusalem was destined to fall, that there was no chance for an immediate return. Fifty long years awaited them, and they must adjust themselves to this condition.

Sin in all its lurid details among those left in Palestine

and in the Babylonian colony also is portrayed. Their blind confidence in God must be dissipated, fanaticism corrected. He must be candid with every man, for the blood of the unwarned soul would rest upon him alone. Like his great master, Jeremiah, he was condemned to tell his people the truth, in the face of bitter antagonism. Indeed, they both, together with several others, were working at the same problem.

Ezekiel's first experience with his people so overwhelmed him that he sat in silence seven whole days, the period of mourning. Again he was required to shut himself up in his own house for a time and give himself to thought and further preparation. He is told to take a tablet and draw upon it a picture of Jerusalem in siege, with towers, a mound, camps, and battering-rams around it. Between him and the city he puts an iron plate representing an iron wall. His face is set against the city to indicate hard siege. The figure changes and he represents the people in siege. He lies first on one side and then on the other, and through a long series of months, by a species of dumb show practiced in parks, sets forth the bitter experience awaiting the people of Jerusalem. He mimics cooking food under the most shocking circumstances and eating in the most disgusting way. Again, he shaves his head with a sword, divides the hair into three parts, burns one part, beats the second with the sword, and scatters the third part to the winds to indicate coming disaster. He thunders at the mountains of Palestine, portrays in detail the desperate efforts of the citizens of Jerusalem to arouse the interest of all the gods by the most hideous religious rites. Women wept for Tammuz, the god of reproduction, because his powers waned with the coming of autumn. One day he acted the part of one who was making his escape from the besieged city. He hurriedly gathered together such articles as one would carry under such circumstances, and piled them in the street and

when night came dug through the wall and made his escape to symbolize flight from the city. His one message to the people in Babylon and such as he could reach in Jerusalem was that doom was impending. He is silent for awhile and then gives one last stroke when Nebuchadnezzar begins the siege. A rusty caldron set upon the fire shows their condition and their purification from evil in exile. He is silent again until the end, whereupon in the twenty-fifth chapter he enters the second stage of his work. His first work now is to describe the devastation awaiting the nations, clearing the way for their final redemption. This follows the series of messages of consolation and encouragement, closing in the last nine chapters with his Utopia.

The three great movements in the history of Israel, the prophetic, the priestly, and the wisdom, all began in one man—Samuel. The prophetic was the first to complete its cycle and now it disappears by passing over into the priestly. The nation is lost, and therefore there is nothing for the pure prophets to do. Henceforth we are to have the priest and the wise men preparing for the coming of the Messiah.

As a literary man Ezekiel is superior to all his predecessors in the matter of form. Theirs were occasional addresses, outbursts, due to situations in which the prophets found themselves. There was seldom a far-reaching plan. Ezekiel seems to have planned carefully in detail the book as a whole. Indeed, he is given to working out minutely pictures merely hinted at with great passion by the other prophets. His chief contribution, like that of Jeremiah, was his own personality—a man sensitive to the signs of the times, loyal to the best in the traditions of his people, faithful to ancient ideals, yet open also to the incoming of the new. Like Isaiah, he believed in the majestic holiness of God, and started from that to work out all his problems. Like Jeremiah, to whom he owed most, he drove home the

doctrine of individualism,—the soul that sinneth, IT shall die—IT for its own sins and not for those of any other—but, unlike him, added the ideal of fellowship. To him we owe the first working out of the picture of the coming kingdom of God. Humility was a cardinal virtue with him. He is only a mortal, a son of man. His earnestness is terrible. Perhaps nothing is more needed now than his sense of awe in the presence of the sanctity and majesty of God. We need more of the feeling that falls upon its face when the Almighty calls. His greatest influence was as a churchman. He affected everything that came after him. He gave the pattern for the new laws and institutions after the return from exile.

We need to feel today the place of the church in the world. The very name of the city, "God is there," indicates a truth of tremendous importance. Of course we do not want the uniting of the Church and the State, but we do want to reinstall religion as the accepted fundamental force in our life, to teach it indirectly at least in our schools, to bring it into our business, to make its spirit all-pervasive and all-powerful. These are vital questions. Jeremiah had worked out the doctrine of the individual, but he had neglected the fellowship side of life. It was left for Ezekiel to portray for us the religious community: every man in established and recognized fellowship with every other man, all alike under the immediate care and direction of the conscious presence of God.

Important also for us is his optimism. He did not believe that the golden days were behind. His picture of the ideal city is a call to all people to make the community where they live so divinely governed and appointed that crime shall be unknown and all men shall name it "God is there."

The book falls into three divisions:

1. Chapters 1 to 24, in which the doom impending

over Jerusalem, because of their sins, is pointed out, persistently. This section closes with the fall of Jerusalem and the death of his wife. He was forbidden to weep or show grief in any way, in order to set forth the paralyzing surprise that would come with the fall of their beloved city.

2. Chapters 25 to 32. The ultimate doom of foreign nations, also. They had witnessed the downfall of God's people, who, in turn, are now to see their utter destruction. Ammon, Mohab, Edom, the Philistines, Tyre, Sydom and Egypt are all to go.

3. Chapters 33 to 48. Israel's restoration, culminating in a religious community with the Temple and its ritual at the center of their life. The Prophet now decreases; the Priest increases. The influence of the ritual here outlined abides to this day. It probably shaped, largely, the services of the restored Temple, and the ritual laws of the Priests' Code, and is even now in vogue in a large part of the Christian world.

The literary style differs from that of any other prophet. There is less turbulent passion, more thoughtful meditation. It all smells of the lamp. Stereotyped phrases occur over and over again. The composition is artificial. Allegory, symbol and parable are freely used and are sometimes hard to understand. He is prosaic, sometimes affecting the poetry of Lamentations, which has a peculiar, limping rhythm. There is everywhere the lack of spontaneity. He is thoroughly methodical, and the book as we have it is probably substantially the same that left his hand, after twenty-two years of work. It is free from critical questions in connection with its authorship.

XV

THE LAMENTATIONS: Dirges of Broken-hearted Patriots

(560 B. C.)

The little book of Lamentations is usually thought of as written by Jeremiah. It really consists of five independent, anonymous poems, all dealing with the calamities that befell Judah and Jerusalem because of the siege and capture of the city by the Chaldeans, B. C. 586.

"The poems are constructed upon an artificial plan; and though the details are varied, they evidently all conformed to the same type. In the first four poems the verses are arranged alphabetically; in the first and second each verse consists of three members, and the verses begin severally with the successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet; in the third, the verses consist of single members, and three verses, each having the same initial letter, are assigned to each successive letter, so that the poem contains in all 66 verses; the fourth is similar in structure to the first, except that each verse has two members only; the fifth poem is not alphabetical, but consists nevertheless of 22 verses, each formed by two somewhat short members."

The rhythm is peculiar to Hebrew elegy. "The verse itself may consist of one or more members, but each member, which contains on an average not more than five or six words, is divided by a cesura into two unequal parts, the first being usually about the length of an ordinary verse-member, the second being decidedly shorter, and very often not parallel in thought to the first. An example or two, even in a translation, will make the character of the rhythm apparent:"

Lam. 1, 1,
How doth the city sit solitary,—she that was full
of people!

She is become as a widow,—she that was great among the nations:
The princess among the provinces,—she is become tributary.

Lam. 2, 2,
He hath hewn off in fierceness of anger—all the horn of Israel:
He hath drawn back his right hand—from before the enemy:
And he hath burned up Jacob as a flaming fire,—it devoureth round about.

Lam. 3, 1–3.
I am the man that hath seen affliction—by the rod of his wrath:
Me hath he led and caused to go—in darkness and not in light:
Surely against me he ever turneth his hand—all the day.

Observe how each line dies away in a plaintive melancholy cadence, the second line echoing the first imperfectly. This is called qinah verse or dirge used to express grief and sorrow. Jeremiah mentions women that chant dirges. It seems that wandering choirs were trained in this kind of music and performed, particularly on mournful occasions. The prophets used this measure to make a deep impression of woe upon their hearers. These dirges are not the spontaneous outbursts of natural emotions, but are rather carefully prepared poems, in which no aspect of the common grief is unremembered, and in which every trait which might stir a chord of sorrow or regret is brought together, for the purpose of completing the picture of woe.

I. "How doth she sit solitary—the city that was full of people." Here we have a picture of the prevailing desolation and misery.

II. "How hath Jehovah covered the daughter of

Zion with a cloud in his Anger!" The cause of their wretchedness is that God has turned against them.

III. "I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of His wrath." The "I" is the so called community "I," one person speaking in the name of all together. The ground of consolation is the thought of God's compassion and the kind purpose he has in view. The people are called to confession and appeal for vengeance on the nation's foes.

IV. "How is the gold become dim! How is the most pure gold changed!" Here we have a contrast between the past and the present, with the feeling that Israel's punishment will be fulfilled and her humiliation passed on to her foe.

V. "Remember, O Jehovah, what is come upon us." The plaintive plea for release and for the exercise of Jehovah's abiding power.

There runs through them all a strong civic feeling, a high patriotism, a suffering sensitiveness to the woes that are overwhelming the people. The nation, including the king, are in captivity.

XVI

ISAIAH OF BABYLON: The Vicarious Element in Human Progress

(540 B. C.)

It is now generally conceded that Isaiah 40 to 66 cannot be attributed to Isaiah of Jerusalem. The general background is wholly different. In the first section, Israel is in Palestine; the Temple is standing; ritual is in full blast and the government still in force. In the second, Jerusalem is in ruins and is deserted; the people are suffering at the hands of the Chaldeans among whom they are in exile. The prophet points to the approach of Cyrus who is to be the great deliverer. They are on the eve of a glorious homecoming. Here

as everywhere, the prophet's first message is to a situation that confronts him.

The style of the two is wholly different. In the first section the poetry is terse, concrete, closely woven, full of images from nature, such as storms, inundations and sudden catastrophes on the one hand or of vineyard scenes, woods, animals, flowers, fields, birds, nature alive, on the other. "If the most conspicuous characteristic of Isaiah's imagination be grandeur, that of the prophet to whom we are here listening is pathos. The author's imagery is drawn by preference from a different region of nature altogether, viz., from the animate world, in particular from the sphere of human emotion. It is largely the figures drawn from the latter which impart to his prophecy its peculiar pathos and warmth."

The circle of ideas is different. The majesty of God is emphasized in the first, his infinitude in the second. There is no Messianic King here. The future is connected with the Servant who becomes a sufferer. The total impression, in other words, of the second half of Isaiah is entirely different from that of the first.

A closer study reveals yet other lines of cleavage. Chapters 40 to 48, called the Book of Consolation proper, is quite different in some ways from the remaining chapters. The fortieth chapter opens with cries of voices. Where they are, who they are, we are not told. A highway is to be prepared in the wilderness along which God is to lead His people home. All flesh, despite appearances to the contrary, is grass that withereth. The flower fadeth, but the Word of our God shall stand forever. His power is dwelt upon at length as seen in nature, in history, in contrast with idols. Even the islands of the sea are called to judgment before Him. He disposes of nations and has called His Servant (41, 8–16), the first picture of whom is given with the exhortation, "Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee; yea,

I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." Everywhere is the Servant to be used for threshing the mountains and making the hills as chaff. Not only is He powerful but careful of His own and will hear the cry of the needy. His ability to deliver attests also his divinity. One is being raised up from the North and is now coming. Where now are idols?

The Servant upon whom the divine spirit is to be put is to be the religious teacher of the world (42, 1–7). A new song is called for, for new things are coming to pass. Yahweh has kept still but now is in the agony of achievement, like a travailing woman. Righteousness must prevail. Upon the character of God and His moral purpose in history their future depends. Everything and everybody in the way of his onward march will be crushed. Cyrus, having mobilized the Medes and Persians and being now on his way toward Babylon, is Jehovah's subservant anointed to accomplish His special will. The chosen people are soon to be delivered and the labor of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans shall come over to them. The peoples of the earth are to assemble themselves before Yahweh, for their idols are helpless. The people are to remember this and show themselves men. Babylon the mistress of kingdoms is to be humiliated. Israel is called to flee from Babylon with a voice of singing, uttering good news to the ends of the earth. Yahweh hath redeemed his servant Jacob.

Here as everywhere the consolation of religion rests upon God who is almighty, who is actually bringing things to pass here and now, who has a far-seeing purpose, who cares for His own, whose very character commits Him to vindicate the right and punish the wrong. It was a daring thing to believe them, for they had been two generations in a foreign land, under the heel of an oppressor whose world-view held that might

alone was right. The ideal of force had been prevailing. They must now have the courage to meet it with the force of the ideal.

The picture of the Servant begins to grow more definite now. We have here his call (49, 1–6). The faithfulness of Yahweh to His own, whom He has graven upon the palms of His hands, pledges deliverance. Israel is yet to be supreme in the world.

The Servant is equipped to sustain with words him that is weary, passes under the rod and is finally justified (50, 4–9). Words of consolation follow and they are exhorted to awake and put on their strength. Redemption is at hand. While all the nations round about are in consternation at the rapid movements of Cyrus, they are taught to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace. God reigns." Even the waste places of Jerusalem are to break forth into joy and sing together. Yahweh is going before them and the God of Israel is to be their rearward on the homeward march.

Then we have the culminating picture of the Servant (52:13–53:12). Up to chapter 49 the Servant is clearly the people of Israel, but he becomes more and more distinct until here he is an individual. That individual, however, is a sort of personification of the devout element in Israel. The people who were suffering most, having been torn up root and branch and dragged away from their land with all its sacred places and associations, from their God even, and hurled into the midst of a foreign people—all this in spite of the fact that they had done their best to be loyal to Yahweh. Why was He thus dealing with them? "What have I done that God should treat me so?" was upon hundreds of lips. Deuteronomy had taught that piety brings prosperity, but here is a conflict between the faith of their childhood and the facts of life. Besides, they were the people of ancient promise. They had been taught to believe

that the hopes and fears of all the years were finally to be centered in them and this is what it all comes to.

The great mass of the people had gone over to the materialism of Babylon—trading, making money, living comfortably, God forgotten,—while just a handful held on and they destined to perish from the earth! Is there no more use for Israel in the world? What can it all mean? Job gave one answer to this question: the author of these chapters gives another.

The poem is in five stanzas, the first having nine lines, the second ten, the third eleven, the fourth thirteen, the fifth fourteen. This increasing length of the strophes "gives the reader the very solemn impression of a truth that is ever gathering more of human life into itself, and sweeping forward with further and more resistless volume." "Most wonderful and mysterious of all is the spectral fashion in which the prophecy presents its hero. He is named only in the first line and once again: elsewhere he is spoken of as He. We never hear or see Himself. But all the more solemnly is He there: a shadow upon countless faces, a grievous memory on the hearts of the speakers. He so haunts all we see and all we hear, that we feel it is not Art, but Conscience, that speaks of Him."

The first line of each stanza gives a summary of the whole stanza—

Behold, my servant shall prosper (using the marginal rendering). Pain is vindicated in the very beginning by God and men. The popular verdict will be reversed. This sufferer will yet startle many nations. Unsuspected meanings in suffering are to be disclosed in Him.

Who hath believed that which we have heard? It is hard to see good in pain. The sufferer is an outcast among primitive peoples. We still turn away from him all too often as one for whom we are in no sense responsible. "The Unfortunate" is a term we apply to many of them. Yet their misfortunes are often the direct result

of a lack of social conscience. How little we know of the ordeals through which countless thousands are passing because of conditions due to the thoughtlessness and indifference of the public. We are now beginning to be aware of "the other half." How little the thoughtless in Israel knew of what the exile was costing the faithful! How hard it was for any to see the Arm of Yahweh in it all!

Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. This marks a terrible awakening. They had held suffering to be the penalty inflicted by God upon sin. Many still regard it so, despite all the denials of Job and Jesus. Two things are said about suffering in this stanza. The first is that it is vicarious. This principle is universal. It holds in nature. The death of autumn leaves forebodes the resurrection of springtime. The beautiful flower fades and falls that another may bloom. It holds in the animal world in two directions: the strong live upon the weak and on the other hand, give up their lives in defense of the weak. The altruistic instinct pledges its all for the protection of its own. It holds in the human world. Who shall tell the story of the anguish brought to groups, to friends, to parents, because of the waywardness of one of their own? Wherever there is love, there is pain. All our reforms have cost blood and tears. Every real advance in the world has come at the price of blood, without which there is no remission. Who shall say what we have paid for industrial progress? For our machinery, railroads, telegraph, automobiles, airplanes, for every device, indeed, that makes possible our present social order? And who shall describe the spectacle of splendid young men going into the trenches with all the zest of youth's idealism to give their lives a ransom for many? Countless thousands are wounded for the transgressions of autocratic governments, bruised for the iniquities of tyranny in commerce and industry, in business and religion, in politics and state-

craft, indeed, in all life's relationships. Through the centuries somebody's greed, selfishness, carelessness of others, have been breaking the hearts of the innocent. The poet says also that this suffering is redemptive. It saves others. With his stripes we are healed. A physician in St. Louis is giving up his life by inches operating an X-ray machine that is healing its hundreds. A trained nurse gave her life in final proof of the transmission of yellow fever by the mosquito. A Jewish boy of New York gave himself to be bitten by body lice to determine whether they carry the trench fever germ. With his stripes many a soldier will be spared. The chastisement of the higher peace our children's children will enjoy is always upon us. If we falter, the blows that bring that peace fall upon them.

This vicarious redemptive suffering reaches its noblest form when voluntary. Such suffering can often succeed when every other agency has failed. College presidents say that boys can often be reached only by appealing to them on behalf of those their wickedness is hurting.

He was oppressed, yet when he was afflicted he opened not his mouth. "Silence under suffering is a strange thing in the Old Testament—a thing absolutely new. No other Old Testament personage could stay dumb under pain, but immediately broke into one of two voices—voice of guilt—or voice of doubt. 'Sickness and injustice' are the two forms of individual suffering in that age. This man is silent under both. He is a convict and a leper, yet opens not his mouth."

Yet it pleased Jehovah to bruise him. God did it. We would prefer to say God used this suffering to exalt the sufferer and to bring him into the higher satisfaction of seeing himself reproduced in others and witnessing the triumph of the cause for which he gave his life. His pain paid its way.

The Suffering Servant was realized in the highest sense in Jesus Christ, who is the world's supreme ex-

ample of vicarious suffering that redeems. But the poet had in mind primarily such a personification of the devout element among the Jews as would assure them that their sufferings, if endured in the right spirit, would make them the saviors of their people. God had a purpose in it all, and the future would show that their lives in the anguish of exile were, after all, richly worthwhile.

The outcome is given in a beautiful picture of jubilant Jerusalem, redeemed and restored, secure in unequaled splendor, established in righteousness and peace inviolate and invincible forever. For this good day the people are invited to prepare, to come and buy without money and without price, to call upon Yahweh while He may be found, and be ready for the homeward march.

When we pass from the fifty-fifth into the fifty-sixth chapter of Isaiah, we seem to move again into a different atmosphere.

"These last chapters are not governed by any single dominating purpose, but are quite miscellaneous, now describing the terms on which eunuchs and strangers may be admitted to the Jewish community (lvi. 1–8), now denouncing a Jewish community in which the people generally resort to illegitimate practices, from which the righteous perish, and in which the watchmen are neglectful (lvi. 9–lvii. 21), or which is sedulous in fasting, but given to inhumanity and the profanation of the Sabbath (lviii., lix.), now depicting the restoration and future glory of Zion (lx.–lxii.), or Yahweh returning victorious from his conflict with Edom (lxiii. 1–6), now providing a liturgical confession (lxiii. 7–lxiv.), and finally contrasting the characters and destinies of the apostates and the loyal (lxv., lxvi.)."

The general purpose and subject are different; so the historical and social background; so also the prominence given to the Sabbath and reference to the Holy Spirit (63, 10–11). The style is different. All things

considered, this last section of Isaiah seems to have arisen almost a century after the preceding section. It reflects the post-exilic experiences and problems of the people to the time of the great reform under Ezra and Nehemiah. The energizing of the Holy Spirit is exceedingly interesting. The passage quoted by Jesus at Nazareth setting forth His mission is in line with the ancient conception of the work of the Spirit of God in equipping great men for special service. So also was the other passage in which the spirit is put in the midst of the people under Moses, strengthening them for the march, bringing them to rest and leading them on. We are still far away from Pentecost where the Holy Spirit is received for the first time by all classes as the endowment for daily living.

The days of the great Prophets are over and their work is done. They were despised and rejected of men. The world was not worthy of them. And their ideals are still far on in front. Their dreams have faded away a thousand times during the intervening years. Yet races and nations are condemned to walk forever in the light of the glory they won for us all. They succeeded most where most they seemed to fail. Plato closes the ninth book of his Republic with a discussion between Socrates and Glaucon about the conduct of the citizen of the Republic they have been planning. "I understand," said Glaucon; "you speak of that city of which we are the founders, and which exists in idea only; for I do not think that there is such an one anywhere on earth!" "In heaven," replied Socrates, "there is laid up a pattern of such a city, and he who desires may behold this, and beholding, govern himself accordingly. But whether there really is or ever will be such an one is of no importance to him; for he will act according to the laws of that city and of no other."

PART THREE

The Priest and His Work

I

Introductory

It has been pointed out that there were three classes of teachers in Old Testament times whose works have been preserved for us—the prophet, the priest and the sage. We have traced the development of the prophetic movement and come now to the study of the priest and his work.

Since literature comes out of life, it can be thoroughly understood only by a study of the life that produced it. This requires a survey of worship in Israel, because it is out of the worshipping side of the people's lives that the priestly literature came.

The first element in worship to be studied is the place. From the beginning men seemed to feel that certain places were more favored by the gods than others. These places were therefore holy and offered an environment in which alone the gods could be worshipped acceptably. Even yet we appreciate the fact that there are certain surroundings that conduce to spiritual worship, and hence, we are now in a great church-building period in the life of American Christianity.

In ancient times nature had much to do in determining the place of worship. Hills were thought of as the special abode of God, "For they also built them high places, and pillars, and Asherim, on every high hill, and under every green tree," (I Kings 14:23). Big trees were understood to be in some way the dwelling place of Deity. "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Somitchechem, unto the oak of Moreh," (Gen. 12:6). Springs or wells were supposed to be the habitat of angels. When the angel spoke to Hagar she "called

the name of Jehovah that spake unto her, Thou art a God that seeth: for she said, 'Have I even here looked after him that seeth me?' Wherefore the well is called Beerlahairoi: behold, it is between Kadesh end Bered" (Gen. 16:13–14). Spirits were supposed to inhabit stones and were fed by placing fat or pouring oil on these stones. Jacob and Laban sealed their covenant by a heap of stones. "Therefore was the name of it called Galeed: and Mizpah, for he said, 'Jehovah watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.'" (Gen. 31:48–29). "And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel (Gen. 28:18–19a).

We are so far removed from the simple life of primitive peoples that it is hard for us to feel the pull of God in nature as they did. Our loss in this respect is beyond computation.

But the ancients soon devised artificial helps. Among the first of these was the altar, made of earth or unhewn stone. "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon. . . And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it" (Ex. 20:24a, 25). From this simple beginning the altar was developed until finally it was made of gold and precious stones (I Kings 7:48; II Kings 16:10). So sacred was the altar that it was the asylum for anyone fleeing from the avenger, "And Joab fled unto the Tent of Jehovah, and caught hold on the horns of the altar" (I Kings 2:28b). It was also the witness of vows, as in the case of Jacob and Laban, as well as the place on which the sacrifice was laid. The Ark or sacred box was supposed to be the special seat of Deity. Sacred things were deposited in it and it was carried on the march during the Exodus and in battle, not only as a

mere symbol of Jehovah's presence but as in some sense His actual dwelling place (Joshua 4:11. I Sam. 4:3 f). Jeremiah cherished the hope that the time would come when the Ark would not only exist no longer, but would actually not be thought of. As sacred a thing as the Ark would of course sooner or later require a sacred dwelling of some sort, so Moses built a tabernacle (Ex. 26) for the wilderness and David provided for the building of a temple hard by his palace (II Sam, 7:1–8). The plan formed by David was carried out by Solomon. Ezekiel in exile worked out a Utopia in which an elaborate temple was to be the center. This Utopia formed the basis for the detailed ritual laws brought back by Ezra. The second Temple, far less elaborate than the plan of Ezekiel, was built upon the return from the exile.

The pictures we have of the earliest times, such as that in the introduction to the Book of Job, do not indicate that there was a special class of holy men set apart for special service. Every father could offer sacrifice for his family; Elisha performs priestly functions in the great farewell feast he gave his friends. Indeed it seems that in early times anybody could do the special things that were assigned in the later history to the priest alone. There would necessarily be somebody in charge of the holy place to act as a sort of janitor and caretaker. This would bring him into contact with the people, whose advisor in the intimate things of life he would soon become. It is easy to see how from this simple beginning the functions of the priest would gradually develop to meet the needs of society. The holy man took his place as religious teacher and as mediator between God and men. He would make known God's will to men and present the case of men to Yahweh.

While sacrifice was originally one of the prophet's duties, it came later to be the most significant act of

worship and the chief office of the priest. Sacrifice in its earliest form was a banquet, enjoyed by the members of a family or a clan, with the Deity as a member of the group. The three men that visited Abram were entertained in this way (Gen. 18:1–8). Elkanah went up to Shiloh every year to take part in such a feast (I Sam. 1:3–8). Saul is brought into a feast like this by Samuel (I Sam. 9:23–25). There was nothing sombre about these occasions. The participants were eating and drinking with the Deity and thereby communing with Him. From this simple beginning sacrifice grew into a formal and complicated cult often lacking in the real spirit of worship. That which at first was an expression of vital communion with Yahweh became later a substitute for it and was denounced by the prophets from Amos on.

There were several kinds of offerings. The burnt offering consisted of the burning of a whole animal of a prescribed kind and in a prescribed way, "And Noah builded an altar unto Yahweh, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean bird, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar" (Gen. 8–20). The peace offering differed from the burnt offering in that only the blood and certain parts of the animal were given to Yahweh, the rest being eaten by the guest (Lev. 3:1–6; Judges 20:26). Full directions are given in Chapters 4 to 9 of Leviticus. The drink offering consisted of wine or oil poured out to Yahweh, "And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he spake with him, a pillar of stone: and he poured out a drink-offering thereon, and poured oil thereon," (Gen. 35:14). This was usually done in connection with other offerings (Ex. 29:40–41; Num. 28:7). Fragrant spices were burnt as incense offering, originating probably in an effort to offset the odor of burnt flesh and thought of later as sending up a fragrance specially pleasing to Yahweh (Ex. 30:1, 7–9; Gen. 8:21).

The trespass offering was intended to expiate offenses against Yahweh and man, when such offenses could be estimated and paid for. The blood of the animal was poured out to Yahweh, the fat burnt on the altar and the rest given to the priests. The sin offering is prescribed in great detail (Lev. 4:24;16; Num. 7:15, 27). The wave offering was the special perquisite of the priest, who waved certain portions of the sacrifice before the altar to show that they belonged to Yahweh and had been given by Him to them (Deut. 12:6–17; Num. 15:19–21; 18:9–29; Ex. 29:27–28). The materials used in sacrifice were carefully prescribed. They consisted in general of flesh, fine flour or meal, incense, oil, wine, cakes of dough and salt. Every detail had some special meaning.

The times of worship originated in connection with the phases of the moon and the seasons. They were feast occasions, such as social meals of a clan, or a pilgrimage. After Israel learned agriculture from the Canaanites, they developed feasts connected with the first coming of spring-time, with the early summer and with the fall, corresponding roughly to Easter, Pentecost and Thanksgiving (I Sam. 9:12–13; 22–24; 1:3–4; Ex. 23:14–17). Hosea says there were in addition special feasts, "I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn assemblies" (Hosea 2:11).

While times of worship in general were festive and joyous, the day of atonement was one of sadness. "In the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of work, the home-born, or the stranger that sojourneth among you: for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before Jehovah" (Lev. 16:29–30).

Fasts were greatly emphasized during and after the exile (Zech. 7:3–5; Esther 9:28–31).

Through all the ages the instinct of the human heart has inspired men to seek three things—a higher Power upon which we can depend—a higher Person with whom we can commune, and an outlook. Whether in some formal way, such as sacrifice, offering and ritual, or by stretching the long arms of faith out into the dark, or by crying with no language but a cry, men have in every age of the world prayed. So in the Old Testament (Gen. 24:12 f.;I Sam. 1:10–11; I Kings 8:23–53; Isaiah 38:2–3; Nehemiah 1:4–11; 2:4).

The vow has always had profound religious meaning and often involved terrible consequences as in the case of Jephthah. It sometimes set men apart to special office. It was always held inviolable (Judges 11:35–39; I Sam. 1:11; Judges 13:3–7; Numbers 6:1–12).

Oracles and dreams were methods by which Yahweh made his will known and were therefore more or less actual worship I Kings 6:19; Exodus 28:30; Gen. 20:3; 28:12, 18f. The prophets sought to destroy sorcery of every kind such as that practiced by diviners, enchanters, charmers, sorcerers, the familiar spirits, wizards and those who could talk with the dead. The Book of Deuteronomy gives in its background a most interesting picture of this aspect of the religious life of Israel (Isaiah 47:9; Jeremiah 27:9; Malachi 3:5; Daniel 2:2; Deut. 18:9–13). Even prophecy itself during its earlier stages used music as a means of stirring up the divine afflatus. Dancing was also common. Religion and music are wordless languages of the soul uttered in rhythm and are found together from the beginning (Gen. 4:21; Amos 5:23; Isa. 30:29–32; Jeremiah 48:26; Numbers 10:2; 31:6; Joshua 6:4 f; Psalm 33:2; 137–142; 149:3; 150:4; I Sam. 16:14; Exodus 15:20).

Songs and hymns are a necessary part of public worship. We do not know much of their use in the earlier periods, but we have in our Psalter the hymn-book of the second Temple, marvellous in the range of its

interests, in its strength and tenderness, its sentiments and the beauty of its poetic forms.

The laws regulating worship were made by the priests as need arose. Slowly through the centuries they were developed, codified and made binding. Since in those days there was no distinction between the secular and the sacred, the priests' work reached every part of ordinary life. People came to him to know what to do about a lost ox or a sheep or the use of a garment; for advice as to what they should wear; what should be done with a bird's nest and its young; for treatment of the poor, of defectives; how they should build; how they should farm, manage orchards; how they should treat strangers, tale-bearers, sorcerers, etc., etc. (Deut. 22: 1–12; Ex. 21:1–35; 22:1–27; Lev. 19:9–37; Ex. 23:1–9). In course of time the advice of the priests came to be the law of the land. Meanwhile a minute system of regulations about their own dress, maintenance, and methods of living arose. When worship developed into a complete institution, with the hierarchy of officers holding a commanding place in the community (300 B. C.), they naturally resurveyed the nation's history, and since it had all been written from the prophetic viewpoint, it was natural that they should rewrite it from their own. The story as they conceived it is found in the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Their eyes are always on the institutions of religion, worship in particular. Their effort to smooth out differences is sometimes most interesting. For example, in Samuel we read, "And again the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, 'Go, number Israel and Judah" (II Sam. 24:1), and then punished him for doing it. In Chronicles the statement is, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel" (I Chron. 21:1). The writer here, feeling the moral difficulty in the way of making Yahweh command

David to do a thing and then punishing him for it, introduces Satan as the tempter. This suggests centuries of development between the two accounts.

This brief outline, following largely that of Harper, indicates the range of the priests' work and the human interest out of which their literature came. We turn now to that literature and shall seek to trace its development, its touch with modern life and its permanent value.

II

THE CODES: Laws Grow with Progressing Social Life

(1200–400 B. C.)

The discovery of the Hammurabi Code in 1901-02 has thrown a flood of light upon conditions in the ancient Semitic world. It reveals a high state of civilization, a rather elaborate code of laws and no mean social ideal in Mesopotamia. Hammurabi considered himself a shepherd, chosen by the gods to care for his people and help them to live in peace and security. His aim, as set forth by himself in an epilogue to this code, was that the great should not oppress the weak; to counsel the widow and orphans; to render judgment; to direct the decisions of the land and to succor the injured. The similarity of many of his laws to those in the Pentateuch is so clear as to indicate beyond doubt some sort of relationship between them. Both the Babylonians and the Hebrews go back to a common stock in north Arabia and out of that common stock, no doubt, came different forms of the same tradition. Not only were both under the influence of a common inheritance, reaching far back of Hammurabi, but Babylonia had touch with Palestine in those early times, through war and trade, so that when Israel came into Palestine, they found Babylonian culture. We need not therefore be surprised to find

many of the earliest laws of Israel in this code, which had been cut in stone a thousand years before Moses.

These laws were observed at first in the oral tradition which gathered around Moses as the great redeemer of Israel. Of course, they were modified to meet the changing conditions of social life from stage to stage in its evolution. God's method of revealing Himself is by degrees in answer to the shifting needs of the hour. "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds" (Hebrew 1:1–12).

Not only a common Semitic inheritance, and contact through the Canaanites in Palestine, but also their Babylonian captivity brought them under the influence of that ancient culture.

The oldest collection of written laws we have is the first edition of the Decalogue (Ex. 34), which is called the Covenant Code (1200–400 B. C.). There are perhaps fourteen or fifteen separate decalogues in the oldest sections of Exodus and Deuteronomy. (1) "Thou shalt worship no other God: for Jehovah, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God" (Ex. 34:14); (2) "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (Ex. 34:17); (3) "The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread" (Ex. 34:18); (4) "All that openeth the womb is mine (the first born) (Ex. 34:19a); (5) "Six days thou shalt work but on the seventh day thou shalt rest" (Ex. 34:21); (6) "Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even of the first-fruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end" (Ex. 34:22); (7) "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread" (Ex. 34:25a); (8) "Neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning" (Ex. 34:25b); (9) "The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring

unto the house of Jehovah thy God" (Ex. 34:26a); (10) "Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk" (Ex. 34:26b).

These were attributed to Moses who wrote upon the tablets the words of the Covenant, the Ten Commandments. These tablets he had been ordered by Yahweh to prepare in advance. They hold the central place in the entire Old Testament legal system. Each of the items is repeated elsewhere in other groups of laws, most of them being thus reproduced four or five times in successive Codes. In the heterogeneous collection, contained in Exodus 20 f. these ten words are to be found, some of them in what appears to be a later form: (1) "Ye shall not make other gods with me" (Ex. 20:23a); (2) "Gods of silver or gods of gold ye shall not make unto you" (Exodus 20–23:3); The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee" (Ex. 23:15a); (4) "The first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen and with thy sheep. Seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me" (Ex. 22:29b–30); (5) "Six days thou shalt do thy work and on the seventh day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thy ass may have rest; and the son of thy handmaid, and the sojourner, may be refreshed" (Ex. 23:12); (6) "Thou shalt keep the feast of harvest the first fruits of thy labors and the feast of ingathering, which thou sowest in the field, at the end of the year when thou gatherest in thy labors out of the field" (Ex. 23:16); (7) "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread" (Ex. 23:18); (8) "Neither shall the fat of my feast remain all night until the morning" (Ex. 23:18b); (9) "Thou shalt not delay to offer thy harvest, and of the outflow of thy presses" (Ex. 22:29); (10) "Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk" (Ex. 23:19b). Various indications show this version to be the work of a later hand. The

earlier version is said to have been written on two tablets by Moses (Ex. 34:27–28); the later to have been written by the finger of God (Deut. 5:22; 9:9–10), adding that at Yahweh's command Moses before going up into the mountain prepared an Ark of acacia wood and that when he returned he put the two tablets in the Ark (Deut. 10:2–3, 5).

It is noteworthy that the tradition about both versions goes back to Moses on Sinai; that they contain the terms of a covenant between Yahweh and the nation, and that they were inscribed on two tablets of stone. These tablets may have been prepared according to a well-established custom among Semitic peoples to be set up in Solomon's Temple.

The third edition of the Decalogue shows an advance over the other two. (1) "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20:3); (2) "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image" (Ex. 20:4a); (3) "Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain" (Ex. 20:7a); (4) "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy" (Ex. 20:8); (5) "Honor thy father and thy mother" (Ex. 20:12a); (6) "Thou shalt not kill" (Ex. 20:13); (7) "Thou shalt not commit adultery" (Ex. 20:14); (8) "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. 20:15); (9) "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" (Ex. 20:16); (10) "Thou shalt not covet" (Ex. 20:17a).

It is interesting to note that the civil and criminal, ceremonial and humane, laws given in the section of Exodus in which these Decalogues are imbedded are themselves arranged in a number of decalogues. Since every normal person has ten fingers it was easy to group things to be remembered into two divisions, one for each hand. Following this principle the materials here have been arranged in several pairs or pentids.

The fourth edition of the Decalogue is found in Deuteronomy. After the great prophets of the eighth century had completed their work and had sought to establish

their social ideal, there was a reaction and for three-quarters of a century little could be done by the prophetic party except to work quietly among the people, and gather up the remains of the past. During this period when the old Canaanitish cults were flourishing, reinforced by Assyrian ideas and customs, the Book of Deuteronomy was written to offset the current evils of the day. It was the joint product of the prophet and the priest, with the prophet in the ascendancy. It was written and laid aside in the Temple where it was discovered in 621 B. C. and made the basis of the reformation of Josiah. Here we have a distinct advance. The book is diffused with the spirit and teachings of the prophets of the eighth century in compromise with the point of view and attitude of the priest and the cult. It was evidently intended as a popular book to be used for the guidance of the people rather than the officials. There is no break with the earlier legal traditions. "Three-fourths of the laws found in the previous codes are represented in Deuteronomy. Those which were omitted (found in Ex. 21:18–22:25, 28, 29b) were of interest only to judges when inposing penalties for specific crimes; and they did not, therefore, conserve the popular aim of the Book of Deuteronomy. Although most of the earlier laws are reproduced in spirit, very few are quoted verbatim (*cf.* Ex. 34:26b, 23:19b and Deut. 14:21c). The days of a slavish worship of the letter of the law are, evidently, still in the future. Usually the purport of the primitive laws is reproduced in the peculiar language of the Deuteronomic writers, fully supplemented by explanations and exhortations (*cf. e. g.*, Ex. 21:2–7 and Deut. 19:1–13). Often the usage represented by the earlier codes is modified or entirely abrogated. Thus the law of Exodus 20:24–26, a law recognizing as perfectly legitimate the many altars scattered throughout ancient Israel, is annulled by the commands of Deuteronomy (12:1–28, 16–5, 6), that

declare illegal every sacrifice performed outside of Jerusalem." "Deuteronomy consists of seven rather loosely defined groups of laws. These are found in the distinctively legal sections, 5–26. The first includes the prophetic Decalogue, 5:6–21, and is followed by a series of exhortations based on these commands. The second group (12:1–17:7) consists of ceremonial and religious laws. The third (17:8–18:22) describes the appointment and duties of the officials—the judges, the king, the priests and the prophets—in the theocracy. In the fourth (19) is found a collection of criminal laws. With this group is associated, by community of subject, the law in 21:1–9 regarding the expiation of an untraced murder. The fifth group (20, 21:10–14) consists of military laws to be observed in case of war. The sixth (21:15–25:19) includes a miscellaneous collection of civil, criminal, humane, and religious laws. The seventh group (26) relates to the presentation of the first-fruits and the triennial tithe."

The Book of the Covenant proper is represented by chapters 12 to 19 and 26. The Decalogue (5:7 f.) indicates that general development which has been going on since the earlier laws were given.

The third code is called the Holiness Code (Lev. 17 to 26), supposed to have been written between the first and second installments of the captivity, *i. e.*, between 597 and 586 B. C. It consists of ten or a dozen groups of laws loosely arranged. It is out of this code that Jesus took His second commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It is like Deuteronomy, suffused with the prophetic spirit and has a strong humane element throughout; yet the interest in the ritual is paramount and the viewpoint of the priest continually apparent. It stands between the Deuteronomic code and that of Ezekiel who was evidently familiar with it. Great stress is laid upon the holiness of God and the necessity for corresponding holiness on the part of the people.

The Ezekiel Code:

The influence of Ezekiel upon ritual legislation has only recently been fully recognized. He was a young priest probably familiar with the Temple and its ritual when he was carried with the first group to Babylon in 597. Using this as a beginning, he drew an elaborate plan for the re-established Temple at the center of the new social order to be set up on the return of the exiles to Palestine. Many of these details cannot be made a workable plan for either the building or the cult and they never were put in practice. Still its influence is easily traceable in all the later priestly laws. It is a picture of a spiritual community living under laws accepted and practiced by all under the control of God.

The last of the minor codes is the Levitical, composed of Exodus 25 to 31, 34; Leviticus and Numbers. Here we have, some think, the laws that were worked out in captivity, brought to Jerusalem by Ezra and adopted by the people as they had adopted Deuteronomy a century and three-quarters before.

The final stage in the development of Old Testament Codes is reached in the Priests' Code, which is itself a growth embodying four strata of material much of which represents a different stage in the evolution. First, the Holiness Code (Lev. 17 to 26,) which has already been described; second, a collection of priestly teachings about the cult; third, genealogical elaborations, laws, illustrative narratives and other miscellaneous materials; fourth, the historical narrative from creation to the settlement in Canaan, which lies at the basis of the P document and incorporates the three preceding elements with all the other Codes except Ezekiel's woven into the story. It is characteristic of the authors of this code that they read back into the life of the wilderness ideas, ideals, customs and institutions existing in their own day. The gorgeous description of the tabernacle and its furnishings was probably made up

of materials worked out by Ezekiel and others, so that we have here an idealized picture of what may have been a very simple Bedouin tent. It is a well-known fact that the pre-exilic period shows no evidence that the legislation of P was in operation. A new element of import that appears here is the Day of Atonement with its attendant conviction of sin, a deepening sense of which appears during and after the exile. This is a distinct advance in spiritual reality.

The Priests' Code as given by Driver is as follows:

"Genesis 1:1–2:4a 5:1–28, 30–32, 6:9–22, 7:6, 11, 13–16a, 17a (except forty days), 18–21, 24, 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 13a, 14–19, 9:1–17, 28–29, 10:1–7, 20, 22–23, 31–32, 11:10–27, 31–32, 12:4b–5, 13:6, 11b–12a, 16:1a, 3, 15–16c, 17, 19–29, 21:1b, 2b–5c, 23, 25:7–11a, 12–17, 19–20, 26b, 26:34–35, 27:46–28:9:29:24, 29, 31:18b, 33:18a, 34:1–2a, 4, 6, 8–10, 13–18, 20–24, 25 (partly), 27–29, 35:9–13, 15, 22b–29c, 36, 37:1–2a, 41:46,:46:6–27, 47–5–6a (LXX), 7–11, 27b–28, 48:3–6, 7? 49:1a, 28b–33, 50:12–13.

"Exodus 1:1–5, 7, 13–14, 2:23b–25, 6:2–7, 13, 19–20a, 21b–22, 8:5–7, 15b–19, 9:8–12, 11:9–10, 12:1–20, 28, 37a, 40–41, 43–51, 13:1–2, 20, 14:1–4, 8–9, 15–18, 21a, 21c–23, 26–27a, 28a, 29, 16:1–3, 6–24, 31–36 17:1a, 19:1–2a, 24:15–18a, 25:1–31, 18a, 34:29–35, c. 35–40.

"Leviticus c. 1–16 (c. 17–26), c. 27.

"Numbers 1:1–10, 28, 13:1–17a, 21, 25–26a (To Paran) 32a, 14:1–2, 5–7, 10, 26–30, 34–38, c. 15, 16:1a, 2b–7a (7b–11), (16–17), 18–24, 27a, 32b, 35, (36–40), 41–50c, 17–19, 20:1a (to month) 2, 3b–4, 6–13, 22–29, 21:4a (to Hor), 10–11, 22:1, 25:6–18c, 26–31, 32:18–19, 28–32c, 33–36.

"Deuteronomy 1:3, 32; 48–52, 34:1a (largely) 5b, 7–9.

"Joshua 4:13, 19, 5:10–12, 7:1–9:15b, 17–21, 13: 15–32, 14:1–5, 15:1–13, 20–44, (45–47), 48–62, 16:4–8, 17:1a, 3–4, 7, 9a, 9c–10a, 18:1, 11–28, 19: 1–8, 10–46, 48,

51, 20:1–3 (except "and unawares") 6a (to judgment) 7–9 (*cf.* LXX), 21:1–42 (22:9–34),"

("Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Driver.")

One cannot follow the development of these Codes to their culmination in the Priests' Code without realizing afresh several important truths. First of all, Moses far back in the tradition stamped his impress as a lawgiver upon the people so strongly that everything of a legal nature is understood as coming from him. In all essential respects this is true, for while we may not know with certainty many of the details of his actual achievements, we do know that he gave character to the social and religious ideal that was to dominate Israel through all the centuries. His was a creative personality of tremendous power. It matters little to us how many of these minute laws were actually given by him, for it is the spirit rather than the letter with which we are concerned. A second impression is that revelation is progressive. Beginning with a race of nomads living in pastoral simplicity, God carried them forward through a period of agriculture into one of commerce and industry with its social and economic complications, giving them at each stage in the ongoing such truths as they could use until, passing to a higher state, they left the old behind. He answered their needs as those needs arose.

That same process is going on throughout the earth today. Standards that worked before the war will not work in the reconstructed social order. We must learn to apply old truths to new uses, searching for new truths to meet old demands. God is living still; so are His people.

A third impression one cannot escape in all this legal evolution is the oneness of life itself. The priest saw the religious bearing of every detail in personal and social experience. Everything was religious; mere etiquette did not exist. The breach of good manners was immoral. There is coming to us now in a new sense the reality of

the spirit as the one determining factor in life. What affects the spirit at one point affects it at every point. All our laws have in the last analysis their religious bearing. We must realize God in control of all things. Yet again, one cannot fail to see how utterly futile is the effort to regulate life by law. Truth is greater than any statement of it; life than any description of conduct. No rules can be made that will cover every item. Essentials will be omitted and nonessentials required. And rules that might cover one period would be antiquated in the next—old wine skins are troublesome to every generation. The Bible is not a law book but a life book.

And finally we are here reminded that change of faith is not loss of faith. The old forms and ceremonies we have been discussing have all passed away never to return, but the spirit out of which they came, fulfilled in Jesus Christ, is continually making new practical injunctions, meeting and mastering new issues, showing up vaster and vaster areas of truth, and love and power.

"I say that man was made to grow, not stop;
That help he needed once, and needs no more,
Having grown but an inch by, is withdrawn:
For he hath new deeds, and new helps to these.
This imports solely, man should mount on each
New height in view; the help whereby he mounts,
The ladder rung his foot has left may fall,
Since all things suffer change save God the truth.
Man apprehends him newly at each stage
Whereat earth's ladder drops, its service done;
And nothing shall prove twice what once was proved."

III

THE FINAL EDITING OF THE HEXATEUCH: THE RELIGION OF A BOOK (440–400 B. C.)

We have seen that the Hexateuch passed through a half dozen stages. The first was the writing of the oldest source (J) in the south by a prophet or series of prophets, about the time of Elijah and Elisha (850 B. C.). It is so called because it alone has the divine name Jehovah (Yahweh) up to Exodus 3:14. It is a graphic document of rare literary power. The second stage was the writing of E in the north by another prophet or series of prophets, about the time Amos appeared (750 B. C.). It is so named because of its preference for Elohim up to Exodus 3:15. It is much more meager than J. It is also narrower, not connecting the history of Israel with that of the world. Each of the two has its own peculiar phraseology, circle of ideas and interests, and literary characteristics, the older being "the story teller and dramatist of the Old Testament." The third stage in the compilation of the Hexateuch is the combination of these into one consecutive whole (650 B. C.), giving us JE. The fourth stage was the combination of JE with D, JED (550 B. C.). This consisted of the incorporation of the Deuteronomic Code together with editorial revisions, additions to, and interpretations of, the history from the standpoint of this Code. The fifth stage in the development of the Hexateuch was the preparation of the Priestly document (P) during the exile (500 B. C.) by a school of Priests who, like the prophets, were shaping the literary materials of Israel into a form expressive of their viewpoint.

The narrative of Genesis is cast into a carefully wrought out framework, indicated by the recurring formula, "These are the generations of." Closer

inspection reveals the fact that along with this framework there are also materials grouped according to a well-defined plan. These materials are uniform in character. Taken together they make a document which runs not only through Genesis but also to the end of the Hexateuch, a document that can easily be dissected from the rest of the materials and is at once recognized as a unified whole. It is not a popular story but a bare outline of history beginning with the creation. It is marked by a strong interest in minute details. The circumstances of an important event are given often at painful lengths. Everything is given from the standpoint of the priest and the institutions of the Israelitish theocracy. Careful attention is given to chronology and dates. The days of creation, the age of the patriarchs, the exact time of the rise and fall of the waters of the flood, the length of a period, the dates of events in the wilderness are all set down. Genealogies are especially recorded. "The history advanced along a well-defined line, marked by a gradually diminishing length of human life by the revelation of God under three distinct names, Elohim, El Shaddai (Gen. 17:1), and Jehovah (Ex. 16:3), the blessings of Adam and Eve (Gen. 1:28–30; 9:26) each with its characteristic conditions, keeping the covenant with Abraham, Israel with its special sign, the rainbow, the right of circumcision and the Sabbath (Gen. 9:12 f.; 17:11; Ex. 31:13)."

The description of the tabernacle with its furnishings and ceremonials is such as an architect might draw. Here as everywhere a distinct effort is made to give a concrete picture. The movements of Israel are all in perfect order by tribes and families. Great care is taken to give all possible statistics. The description of the ark is minute. Extended lists of various kinds are numerous. No effort seems to have been spared to gather together all the facts about any subject in hand, but none was taken to clothe the dry bones with flesh and

blood. The author sets down his details without entering into the emotional interests involved. Things of beautiful human import, such as the experiences of the patriarchs, connected with altars, wells, sacred trees and stones so picturesquely given in J and E, are entirely lacking here. He does not feel the dramatic side of life and is therefore in no sense a real artist like J or E. One has only to read together the first and second chapters of Genesis to appreciate the difference. The first smells of the lamp, moves in a dignified realm, represents God as speaking from afar, as it were, without locating Him, and his words as actuating in creation. While in the second God is a big man, doing things like a man, with the emotions and interests of a man. We seem to see His form as He comes into close touch with His creatures and deals with them face to face. In the first He is hardly personal at all; in the second intensely so. In the first he is transcendent; in the second intimate. These same characteristics of God appear throughout this stratum of the Hexateuch. No visions or dreams are given; no angels mingle with men; no description appears of God; no representation of his assuming a personal form. His revelations consist of symbolic speaking as a spirit would speak. P's outlook is narrow. Unlike the other documents, the promises of Yahweh are concerned solely with the chosen people and do not include other nations. The covenant of Yahweh is with his own alone. Even they do not worship Him until the right sort of a place is provided and the right persons appointed to direct the worship. The first sacrifice recorded is that of Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8). There are no geographical details. Primitive humanity was vegetarian, no animal fat being permitted until after the flood and then with the proviso that the blood be not eaten. The only pre-Mosaic ceremonial institution is the Sabbath, observed by God at the end of the week of creation, and circumcision. P never touches the deeper

problems of theology "such as the justice of the divine government of the world, the introduction of sin and evil, the insufficiency of all human righteousness." There is no Messianic outlook. The literary style of P is superficial "stereotyped, measured and prosaic." Stated formulæ, methodical and precise descriptions, with repetition for emphasis, are of frequent occurrence. The author, or possibly authors, are wooden, not unlike Ezekiel in lack of literary passion.

The pre-exilic period shows no sign of this legislation being in operation and it is not presupposed by Deuteronomy. The differences between P and Deuteronomy put P later.

"Thus (a) in Dt. the centralization of worship at one sanctuary is enjoined, it is insisted on with much emphasis as an end aimed at, but not yet realized: in P it is presupposed as already existing. (b) In Dt. any member of the tribe of Levi possesses the right to exercise priestly functions, contingent only upon his residence at the Central Sanctuary: in P this right is strictly limited to the descendants of Aaron. (c) In Dt. the members of the tribe of Levi are commended to the charity of the Israelites generally, and only share the tithe, at a sacrificial feast, in company with indigent persons: in P definite provision is made for their maintenance (the 48 cities, with their 'suburbs'), and the tithes are formally assigned to the tribe as a specific due; similarly, while in Dt. firstlings are to be consumed at sacrificial feasts, in which the Levite is only to have his share among others, in P they are reserved solely and explicitly for the priests. In each the stricter limitation is on the side of the P. (d) The entire system of feasts and sacrifices is much more complex and precisely defined in P than in Dt. True, the plan of Dt. would not naturally include an enumeration of minute details; but the silence of Dt. is nevertheless significant; and the impression which a reader derives from Dt. is that the liturgical

institutions under which the authors lived were of a simpler character than those prescribed in P."

The ritual legislation of J E is simpler than that of P and is in harmony with the practices during the period of the Judges and early kings. Deuteronomy lies between J E and P in the development of its legislation and P shows the influence of Ezekiel, whose Utopia (40 to 48) put a strong impress upon late exilic and post-exilic life. The religious conceptions of P suggest the latter part of the period of captivity, subsequent to Ezekiel. The legislation of the pre-exilic period is here carried forward and expanded, elaborated, added to, reshaped and adapted to use in post-exilic times by the priests who were then in supreme authority.

The sixth and last stage in the compilation of the Hexateuch was the fitting of J E D into the framework of P, resulting in J E D P as the final formula representing its growth.

This book took its place as the basis of life in Israel upon the reorganization under Ezra and Nehemiah and holds still among orthodox Jews as final authority in religion. It came to be so severely binding in post-exilic Judaism, that even Yahweh Himself had to keep it. It was in the strictest sense a rule of faith and practice. Every detail of it therefore had to be minutely studied and the duties it required carefully defined. This resulted in the complicated lifeless pharisaism prevalent in the time of Jesus. The letter killeth. It always does. There are those now, even in Protestantism, who, like the scribes of old, insist upon binding heavy burdens grevious to be borne and laying them on men's shoulders. They insist upon what they call the literal interpretation of the Bible. They do not seem to realize that they are seeking to enforce ideas Christ came to explode. The Bible cannot survive as a fixed rule of faith and practice for which it was never intended. It is rather the world's greatest book of reli-

gious experience on whose pages, inspired because inspiring, we meet God face to face and find rest unto our souls.

IV

GENESIS: In the Beginning—God (440–400 B. C.)

"And what is that I hunger for but God?
My God, my God, let me for once look on Thee
As though naught else existed, we alone!
And as creation crumbles, my soul's spark
Expands till I can say,—Even from myself—
I need Thee and I feel Thee and I love Thee."

The Book of Genesis begins with the creation of the world and ends "in a coffin in Egypt." The aim of the book is to describe in the first part (1–11) the preparation of the universe for man, give us the creation and early history, explain the presence of evil in the world, sketch the beginnings of civilization with their attendant evils, account for the existence of separate nations and determine Israel's position among them; in the second part (12 to 50), the history of Israel's ancestors, the patriarchs, is given. As has already been said, the materials are set in a priestly framework, indicated by the recurring formula, "These are the generations of." This was done after the promulgation of the Law by Ezra, probably about 444 to 400 B. C. From that time on we have the book in substantially its present form.

In the interpretation of ancient literature, there are two questions to be asked—first, what the author meant to say to his audience, secondly, what his words mean to us. In asking the first of these questions of the book of Genesis, we come at once upon the relation of the Bible to science, for there can be no doubt that the first chapters of Genesis undertake to answer with naïve simplicity questions primitive peoples had to face—how

the universe, including man and animals, came into existence; why women are subject to men; why they bear children in pain; why snakes crawl; how sin came into the world; how people came to wear clothes; why people suffer and die; why thorns and thistles that make farming so difficult—indeed why hard work at all; what was the origin of races and languages, etc., etc. The answers given to these and many like questions in Genesis conflict directly with our modern scientific conceptions. We have now abandoned the effort to harmonize the two, for to do so is to juggle with plain facts.

The writers of these stories meant to say just what their simple words indicate and no amount of explaining away can make them mean anything else, so that we must take Genesis upon its face value.

When we come to answer the second question, what these wonderful stories mean to us, it is easy to find the way out of our difficulty, for a narrative may be historically inaccurate yet psychologically true. I once knew a lawyer, who after twenty childless years had a son born to him. It was said that the next morning, when he walked down the street of his little town, a calf was on the sidewalk, and he stroked it gently, saying, "Get out of the way for father." He may not have gone down town the next morning, or if he did, there may have been no calf on the sidewalk; but the story illustrates, nevertheless, the exact state of his feelings. It may be historically false but it is psychologically true. All that is told of the prodigal son may never have taken place in one man but it is true nevertheless.

Even if it could be proved which, of course, can never be done, that the wonderful things told in Genesis did not happen or happened in ways entirely different from those described, yet the great spiritual realities set forth hold good in every age of the world. It is in these that our interest lies. Whether we have here ancient traditions, or folk lore or even myths and legends or the work

of creative artists, we have at all events a body of truth which we can never get away from.

We may not think of God as creating a completed, fixed, universe instanter by a series of words in the long ago, but we see Him before our eyes in the timeless process of creating a fluid universe in which nothing is fixed, nothing final yet, and in which all things are in the grip of universal struggle out of an infinite past into an infinite future; and we feel Him involved at the heart of the struggle with a far-reaching purpose to which the whole creation moves.

In the beginning—God; at the end and at every point between—God. Out of this exhaustless truth came the great realities that underlie Genesis and all the rest. We may not think of God as creating man instantly out of clay and breathing into his nostrils on the spot the breath of life, but we can see Him evolving this child of his love out of lower stages into higher and yet higher, in a tireless effort finally to perfect him in His own image. In either case it is God that creates. The method is immaterial. Nor does the Bible anywhere give the method. All that Science can say only fills in what Scripture has left unsaid.

We may not think of a snake bringing sin into the world by sinister suggestion, but we can think of man coming in his upward struggle to a point at which he passes from instinct to self-consciousness and to the consciousness of higher spiritual laws and then falling before the first temptation and breaking them, for the tragedy of Eden is repeated in every human soul.

We may not think of all our ruin and pain and the anguish in which they involve God also as the technical penalty of His failure with the first perfect pair; but we can think of them as a part of the birth pangs by which He is bringing forth the man that is to be.

We may not think of the dangers of immortality being so great that God put Adam and Eve out of the Garden

to prevent their eating of the tree of life and living forever; but we can realize the infinite risk of being alive and the infinite peril of endlessness.

We may not think of God as dealing with us after the manner of a man and directing mechanically the course of history, but we can think of Him as sharing our lives while we share His and directing from within by spiritual processes the movements of men and nations.

So the great spiritual realities of Genesis are still with us though their forms may be changed. It is a marvelous book of life, surpassingly full of human interest and vital power. It appears even greater when we compare it with the sacred books of Babylon which cover in part the same field and use the same materials. The creation myth in other lands becomes here the beautiful story of creation by one God. The vulgar legends of gods mingling with women is here smoothed out into a story of men of prowess in Hebrew folk lore. In this way materials common to all the Semites are purified and made to carry a high spiritual message which stands alone among all ancient bibles.

V

EXODUS, LEVITICUS AND NUMBERS (440–400): AN ANCIENT LABOR MOVEMENT.

The book of Exodus tells the story of the first great Hebrew labor movement. It continues the history from the closing of Genesis to the erection of the Tabernacle in the wilderness. Together with Leviticus and Numbers, it gives the experience of Israel in the wilderness and the laws represented as revealed to Moses there. The account is continued in Joshua to the settling in Canaan, the renewal of the covenant and the death of the great leader. The prophetic element in J E and D is set in the priestly frame.

In these books we come upon other classes of diffi-

culties, the first of which is connected with the story of the miracles, the wonders, the marvellous experiences of these nomads. Moses was a master magician, able to command with his magic wand the forces of nature like some mystic giant in fairy land.

We must remember that these stories were told by sire to son, in Bedouin tents, by public entertainers in social gatherings and by teachers in religious meetings, for 400 years before they were written down. We can imagine what an idealizing process must have gone on and how a halo was put around many cold facts. This would easily account for the fairy-like character of many of these stories. To read them as if they were exact bloodless annals of bare facts is murder. To feel their charm and come under their power requires that we give play to vivid imagination and go with the authors into wonderland.

The second difficulty we encounter here is moral. The Israelites are ordered to despoil the Egyptians under pretext of borrowing. Brutal crimes are committed not only with Yahweh's approval but by His command. Wars of extermination are waged by divine order. The helpless and the hapless are butchered in the name of Yahweh. Most of the cruelties said to have been practiced during the world war can easily be duplicated from this period. What shall we say of all this? Upon the theory of a Bible verbally inspired and equally binding in the ethical precepts of all its parts, there is no answer. But this is not the claim the Bible makes for itself nor is it the claim that the modern wing of the church makes for it. It is a book of life, the record of the experiences of men in God's dealing with them and in their dealings with each other. This record shows how God took a primitive people, limited in their intellectual outlook, in their ethical ideals, in their religious conceptions, limited in their understanding of Him, and by slow degrees brought them out of their crudities and

incapacities into a people, a nucleus of whom were prepared in the fulness of time to receive His son.

The Old Testament as a Source Book for Religious Education is only now beginning to be appreciated. Its stories are unequaled for this purpose. The careful grading of all this material brings to our hands exactly what we need for every epoch of life from infancy up to maturity. The interests of every world through which the child passes on the way to himself are here adequately provided for. But the wrong use of these materials is very dangerous. We may develop attitudes and antagonisms we can never cure. The child is far more intelligent and far more sensitive to ethical principles than many of us suppose. We can do violence to neither the reason nor the conscience of our little ones without paying an awful penalty. Here is the peril of untrained Sunday School teachers, the peril also of devout parents, who forget that their own theology is leagues away from that the child can either understand or accept. Better too little religion, perhaps, than too much in the overwhelming task of child nurture, unless that religion is tempered with the keenest appreciation of the intimacies of the child's world. The account of Moses, for example, may be so told as to create distrust of the whole Bible. Things were done under the claim of divine command that cannot be defended. Even though the people upon whom they practiced cruelty might have deserved punishment, they could not, because of that fact, claim authority to inflict it any more than Germany could have insisted upon marching through Belgium because of the rubber atrocities in the Congo. The ancient Hebrews, not unlike ourselves, often understood God to order what they wanted to do and what the standards of their times approved. Whatever does not square with the Sermon on the Mount, cannot be set down as God's will. There is much to be forgiven the chosen people. Remembering all the limita-

tions and peculiarities of that day, the story of Moses, the great magician, with his wonder-working wand, and his marvelous efforts as a social redeemer, can be so told as to charm old and young alike into the higher loyalties.

These books come closer to us, if read as a record of a human struggle not unlike that now going on. The labor world is coming to self-consciousness and things hoary with age are in danger of being overturned. The same elements that entered into the Exodus are present to day. In the first place, there was the autocracy of control in industry. One man held the well-being of two millions, if the figures are to be trusted, in the palm of his hand. From his will there was no appeal.

This system kept the under class down. There was no outlook for them or for their children. They would go on forever, so far as they could see, in practical slavery to masters whose power was firmly entrenched.

The people, for the most part, accepted with fatalistic submission the social order which condemned them to perpetual slavery. They did not suppose that even God had anything better for them.

And why should they not be content? They got bread and clothes, and they would not know how to use much more. Killing a few children did not matter, at least to their masters. They were foreigners too—"Sheenies" indeed. While they were not allowed the right of public assembly and free speech, they could worship alone in a corner, and was that not enough? Most of them were content because no better day was in sight.

At last two meddlesome agitators appeared among them. This, of course, was an impertinence to be resented by those on top. Why should these people be disturbed? They were not rebelling against conditions. They were satisfied, and had not invited outside interference. The agitators stirred up trouble by suggesting that these slaves were God's people. There was

for them a promised land, where they could establish a better social order, in which they could have freedom, shorter hours, better living and working conditions, and adequate share in the products of their toil. They could there enjoy as human beings the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All this was told to a few of the leaders, and by propaganda the good news was soon spread. The people began to awake. They would join the movement.

When the organization was sufficiently advanced, the agitators requested for the people that they be allowed to go into the wilderness for a few days to worship. But Pharaoh would not even confer long with these walking delegates. They were not in his employ. They were radicals "boring in" from the outside. He read them a lecture as interloping trouble makers and dismissed them.

These slaves did not know how to use their leisure. They must be given more to do to keep them out of mischief. The "Bosses" were ordered to speed up the work by adding to the required tasks. There was no thought of Pharaoh's responsibility for their incapacity for freedom or of his duty to teach them how to play. He did not realize that if long hours destroy the play instinct, the cure is not longer hours, but shorter, and better training.

Then the people, at the first pinch of the fight, were ready to give up. They sent a committee to their master, and being answered with tighter terms, they turned against the agitators.

"They hearkened not unto Moses, for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage." And Moses and Aaron lost heart. The people could not be held in line. Why go to Pharaoh again? But after a bitter battle with the discouragement of ingratitude, stupidity and disloyalty, these heroic leaders renewed their fight to save the people in spite of themselves. They encountered the

arrogance of entrenched power and were trifled with, now by cold refusal, now by having the door shut in their faces, now by smooth promises made only to be broken, now by proposed compromise—"Only Ye shall not go very far away"— "Only let your herds be stayed.'" At last Autocracy found itself helpless and surrendered to the inevitable. Then, rallying, it made a last dash to regain itself by force, upon which it always relies,—only to go down under the blow of an invisible Power it could neither understand nor resist.

Then the people had their day. But they were as unscrupulous as their masters had been. By "direct action" they despoiled the Egyptians. They had created the wealth invested in luxuries, and God had given it to them!

Under the first provocation, they discarded their leaders and took the reins in their own hands. They even made a religion to suit themselves. They had seen organized force go to pieces before their very eyes, yet failed to get their lesson. They did not have the courage to wait. God was so slow. The big stick gets quicker results than the big heart; therefore the big stick.

Why not go back to Egypt? "Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians," they had begged at the first. Nobody had ever seen the promised land. Ideals would not pay grocery bills. Flesh pots were better than faith. Even if their sufferings might save those who were to come after, the future could take care of itself. Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof.

It was a trying ordeal for both parties. The Egyptians and the Israelities had to learn to get on under untried conditions. They both had to run the infinite risk of being alive in a new world. Ages waited upon their faithfulness. Either side could forget themselves into immortality or forfeit their place to worthier successors. This much was sure: God was on the human side of things. Between Autocracy and the People, then

as now, He was with the people. Unsocialized power was doomed.

VI

EZRA, NEHEMIAH AND CHRONICLES (300–250 B. C.): THE WORTH OF INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION.

The books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles were originally one, forming a comprehensive history of the Jews from Adam to the end of the Persian period. Ezra-Nehemiah is a composite work containing sources from different periods. The decree of Cyrus in the first chapter, if original, is the oldest stratum, dating back to 538 B. C. The letters in the fourth chapter are supposed to belong to the reign of Artaxerxes (464–444 B. C.). The date of the memoirs of Nehemiah was probably 445–432 B. C. They are in the first person and seem to have been written by Nehemiah for the author's own eye. In chapters 7 to 9, we have the memoirs of Ezra (458-f. B. C.). There are three sections of the book of Ezra written in Aramaic—the correspondence with Artaxerxes (4:7–24a); the history of the rebuilding of the Temple (4:24b–6:18) the edict of Artaxerxes, authorizing Ezra's mission (7:12–26). This forms a practically continuous section (4:7–7:26) which may have been a part of an Aramaic history of this period consisting largely of official documents (45c B. C.). These dates are placed decidedly later by some scholars.

The materials for understanding the history of this period are very meager. There is little of value for 200 years (538–332 B. C.). Even the order of the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah has been a question. It seems now to be felt that Ezra came after Nehemiah. The books of Chronicles are supposed to have come from the same hand that wrote Ezra and Nehemiah, for the reason that the end of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra

are the same and both are of the same general character. They show particular fondness for genealogies and other lists of families and persons, for detailed description of special religious celebrations, and pay special attention to the priests, the Levites, the musicians, the singers and the gate keepers, the last being mentioned nowhere else in the Old Testament. The same method prevails throughout; so do the same linguistic peculiarities which everywhere indicate close kinship to the Priests' Code. The evidence seems to point to about 300–250 B. C. as the date of the compiling of these books.

The history as recorded in Judges, Samuel and Kings is not such as to please the priest. It does not show an unbroken line back to Moses with a continuous picture of priestly ritual in force. The Chronicler therefore rewrote the history to remedy this defect. He introduced a great deal of new material, particularly about the Temple and its ministry and religious celebrations. He was concerned also to interpret Israel's life as that of a church under divine guidance and control. He sought to reinforce the old doctrine that piety guarantees prosperity and wickedness brings adversity. The bad points in the characters of the old heroes such as David and Solomon were passed over or toned down, and in many cases the good points exaggerated.

The northern kingdom is looked upon as apostate. Otherwise unknown characters, particularly seers and prophets, are brought in to emphasize the author's philosophy of history. We have here therefore a tendency writing presenting a distorted picture in the interest of post-exilic institutions and reflecting the notions of that period.

There are two extremes from which people are today viewing institutional religion. One denies its value and pleads for the rights of the individual as against the group. Advocates of this view are unwilling to identify

themselves with the supposed customs and dogmas of the church. Not a few of these misunderstand what these customs and dogmas are. They do not appreciate the fact that these have changed with the changing world and that formulæ which meant one thing a quarter of a century ago may mean an entirely different thing today. Those on the outside of the church do not seem to know that the progressives are insisting upon making our religious conceptions square with modern culture and are worthy of all possible help from those who desire to see organized religion an abiding vital force in the world. Many of them are devout Christian people and belong logically within the fold, for it is somehow true that great ideas and experiences in order to survive must get themselves institutionalized and the cumulative power of combined effort is everywhere apparent. "One shall chase a thousand; two shall put ten thousand to flight." Whatever spiritual values one may realize must therefore be connected up with the institutions of religion, if they are to be made most effective in rendering service and be able to survive the inevitable changes of history.

Those who hold the other extreme view are equally in error. They assume that there can be no Christianity outside the church and that the building up of the church is therefore the prime concern of Christians. If that is the task of the twentieth century, then Christianity will have to leave the church to live, for it will be necessary to shut out all manly preachers with prophetic vision and silence every disturbing note. Peace at any price, prosperity at any cost, the bringing in of members and the attracting and holding of the wealthy—these are matters of first importance. Paul's commission to Timothy will have to be read somewhat as follows: "I charge thee in the sight of God and of Christ Jesus, who shall judge the living and the dead, and by his appearing and his kingdom, preach a platitudinous

word; be cautious in season and out of season; reprove only the absent and unknown; rebuke only the helpless; exhort with all possible smoothness, and teach only what everybody already believes. For the time has come when they will not endure the sound doctrine, but, having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts; and are turning away their ears from the truth, and turning aside unto fables. Therefore give them fables. But be thou very cautious in all things, shun hardship, dodge vital issues, do the work of a diplomat, fulfill thy ministry of pleasing" (I Tim. 4:1-5).

All this follows if the Chronicler's view of institutional religion is to prevail. Here as everywhere there is a middle course. Religion must be institutionalized and the institution Christianized. The prophet must have foremost place, not only in the councils but also in the constructive work of the church. The universe is fluid rather than fixed; a stream rather than a crystal, and not even the holiest of all our institutions must be above revision and reconstruction to meet the changing needs of a changing world. The new wine of each epoch calls for new wine skins and will continue to call until the end of time.

The conception of the church as an institution for dispensing salvation must now give way to that of an institution for comforting the disconsolate, for rescuing the lost, for educating the child, for christianizing community life, for making the social ideal of Jesus prevail, for enthroning God in all human experience, everywhere in the world. Then at least five things follow:

She must find and face the facts. Insidious propaganda for selfish ends is now a national menace. The living and the lives of millions are involved and imperiled. The investigation of the steel strike by the Interchurch World Movement should be but the beginning of a Protestant survey in the interest of humanizing not only the superpersonal forces but also all our relationships.

She must give the facts to the people. Alert and powerful men and women, who see life steadily and see it whole, who are unafraid, provided with adequate money and machinery for getting the facts and the truth to the public in right perspective, are the paramount need of the hour. We must have a new definition of news. It should be given from the Christian standpoint.

She must insist unflinchingly upon the Sermon on the Mount as the fundamental Constitution in the new social order. She cannot consent to go back with the reactionaries to the old individualism which made religion a fire insurance policy to keep men out of hell or at best a life insurance policy to get them into heaven. Like the old prophets we face new frontiers whose challenge of the unexplored is our call and our commission, where authority is not in the past but in the future, not in the traditions of the fathers but in the ideals of those who are faithful to the heavenly vision. We can no longer be afraid of Jesus.

She must herself practice what she preaches. The official mind has a strange facility for forgetting to be socialized. It is easy for ecclesiastical bodies to pass social creeds. It is not always so easy to get ecclesiastics to enforce them, to make the business of the church live up to them.

And she must learn to attack heroically social causes rather than social symptoms. She must strike at the roots rather than the fruits of evil. It is a good thing to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction; it is a better thing to go after the forces that made them fatherless and widows. It is a good thing to build hospitals and care for those who have been beaten up on the Jericho road; it is far better to clean up the road.

Capacity for doing these things requires yet another. The sense of moral proportion is all too rare. A great ecclesiastical body in session while nine-tenths of the

world is at war, quibbling over creeds, rules and rubrics, presents a pitiable spectacle. A Pastor chastising an innocent girl for amusement that is under the ban, while her father, the Chairman of his Board, is grinding up little children in his mill, overworking tired women, holding down his employees to the lowest wages and longest hours possible, refusing even to treat for better conditions, exacting the highest prices the unsuspecting public will stand, and drawing three hundred per cent dividend—would you call that Pastor Christian? When shall we have a proportionate conception of both sin and righteousness? "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith." (Matt. 23:23).

The church of the mere Priest with his platitudinous piety and his perfunctory performances is an anachronism; the hour has struck for the Prophet, for Jesus above all.

VII

ESTHER: Loyalty to Blood Kinship (250 B. C.)

The book of Esther was written probably about 250 B. C. for the purpose of boosting the Feast of Purim by giving an account of its origin. "And he sent letters unto all the Jews, to the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus with words of peace and truth, to confirm these days of Purim in their appointed times, according as Mordecai the Jew and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had ordained for themselves and for their seed, in the matter of the fastings and their cry. And the commandment of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim; and it was written in the book" (Esther 9:30–32).

The name of God does not appear and it is a non-

religious book. Esther was meant to be read at the annual merry making of Purim where people were expected to carouse until they were unable to distinguish between "blessed be Mordecai" and "Blessed be Haman." The name of God might be profaned in the midst of such orgies and was therefore omitted. "Alone of all the books of the Old Testament, he ascribes deliverance to men instead of God. Fasting is the only religious rite that he mentions."

The story in a word is as follows: Ahasuerus, king of Persia, entertains the dignitaries of the empire. Vashti the queen has a banquet for the women. The king orders her to show herself to his guests but she refuses, and lest her example should have a bad influence upon the wives of the empire, she is deposed and the wives everywhere ordered to obey their husbands. Missing Vashti, upon advice, he gathers the most beautiful maidens available, Esther among them, the fact that she is a Jewess being concealed. She is chosen queen. Mordecai, whose kinship with her is concealed, discovers a plot against the life of the king and reports it through the queen, but is not rewarded. Afterwards Ahasuerus makes Haman chief over all his nobles and everybody is required to do obeisance to him, which Mordecai refuses. In revenge Haman determines to destroy the whole race of Jews, gets the king's consent and issues orders that they be slain. The Jews are alarmed and Mordecai appears before the palace in sackcloth and ashes. Esther hears of it and sends him other clothes that he may come into the palace but he refuses them. She then sends to inquire what the trouble is and is in turn begged by Mordecai to intercede, but the death penalty was visited upon anybody appearing before the king uncalled and she therefore objected, but finally consents, asking that all the Jews fast with her. When offered any favor she might ask, she requests only that he and Haman come to her banquet. At the banquet the offer is re-

newed and she asks only that he and Haman come to another banquet the next day. Haman goes out in high glee but, when Mordecai refuses to bow to him, hastens home, saying that all his honors were worthless so long as this Jew lived. He is advised to build a great gallows and have Mordecai hanged. The next night was sleepless for the king and he has the annals of the kingdom read to him in which he finds the record of Mordecai's service without reward. At this moment Haman comes in and is greeted with "What shall be done to the man whom the king desires to honor?" Assuming himself to be meant, he names several royal honors and is required to confer these upon Mordecai. He returns home in despair. While he and his family and friends are talking over what they think is the beginning of his downfall, chamberlains come to carry him to the banquet with Esther where his plot is exposed. The king goes out in a rage and Haman falls upon Esther's couch to beg for his life. Returning the king is still more outraged by Haman's posture and commands that he be hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai. The latter is installed in his place. In another uninvited interview, Esther begs for the reversal of Haman's edict of destruction, and while this cannot be done, permission is given that the Jews defend themselves and slay their enemies. Successive slaughters follow till 75,000 enemies of the Jews are slain. Purim is instituted to celebrate their great deliverance.

For reasons too numerous to mention here, the book is not regarded as historical. It is doubted whether even a historical kernel underlies the narrative. It belongs to the same period and the same general class of literature as the Jewish romances, Daniel, Tobit, First Ezra and the story of Ahikar. It bears a close resemblance to the cycle of legends back of these books.

The book is a story of the sensual despotism of the king, of the selling of herself by Esther, of her relentless

cruelty, of the sacrificing of his cousin by Mordecai for his own interest, of his insolence and revengeful spirit, etc. The author gloats over the villany he tells of and the success it achieves. "There is not one noble character in the book."

Yet in the midst of all this riotous immorality, there is one commanding note of immeasureable worth—a compelling plea for loyalty to our own and heroic courage in their service. Blood is thicker than water, and a strong race feeling is no mean endowment.

It is necessary for conserving race integrity and inheritance. It may, however, as here, breed antagonisms, suspicion, contempt, cruelty, and, as here, resort to chicanery and murder to settle its scores. This danger is increased where ethnographic differences appear in color lines. The white man, the yellow man, the black man, can each come to his own in the new social order now in the making, not by manœuvering for position, nor by bitterly asserting his rights, nor by autocratic uses of social, civic, or economic power, nor by the lyncher's rope or the machine gun, or by force in any form, which settles nothing, but rather by self-achievement and sacrificial service to all the rest in a spirit of mutual appreciation and good will. Interracial brotherliness and coöperation, by which alone the world can be made safe, ask from each according to capacity and seek for each according to need. Race and color lines are of God; so is the spirit that shakes hands across them.

VIII

THE PSALTER: The Soul of a People Progressively Uttered in Song (1000–150 B. C.)

The noblest contribution the Priest made to the Old Testament was the compilation of the Psalms, which was

completed, perhaps, about the middle of the second century, B. C.

"Praises, Book of Praises," is the title of the Psalter in the Hebrew canon. It was so called because it was considered to be essentially a collection of songs of praise or hymns used in worship. In the Septuagint it was called "Psalms," songs to be accompanied by stringed instruments, probably because the word "Psalm" was in the titles of several of the poems. Many early Greek writers use the name "Psalter," which is properly the name of a stringed instrument, for a collection of Psalms used in public worship. The collection is set off in five books, Book First closing with the doxology at the end of Psalm 41,

> "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel
> From everlasting and to everlasting.
> Amen, and Amen."

Book Two (Psalms 42 to 72) closes with a different doxology,

> "Blessed be Jehovah, God, the God of Israel,
> Who only doeth wondrous things;
> And blessed be his glorious name forever,
> And let the whole earth be filled with his glory,
> Amen, and Amen."

The Third Book (Psalms 73 to 89) closes with,

> "Blessed be Jehovah forevermore.
> Amen, and Amen."

Book Four (Psalms 90 to 106) ends

> "Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Israel,
> From everlasting even to everlasting.
> And let all the people say, 'Amen.'
> Praise ye Jehovah."

The 150th is itself a doxology, closing with

> "Let everything that hath breath praise Jehovah;
> Praise ye Jehovah."

It is supposed that these divisions were made toward the end of the second century B. C. The doxologies were used to make five books corresponding with the so-called five books of Moses and to provide a three years' course of Sabbath readings. The original divisions were into three books—1–2–3—41, 42–89, and 90–150.

Closer inspection reveals the presence of Psalters within our Psalter, smaller collections of Psalms or at least of poems that were apparently in circulation in separate volumes before they were combined into one Hymnal for use in the second Temple. The growth of the Psalter was not unlike that of "Gospel Hymns" which came out in successive numbers. The scheme below, while not vouched for as correct in every detail, at least illustrates what happened:

Hynnal No. 1

Miktam

Seven Psalms have this heading—16 and 56–60. The term means "golden piece." The poems are gems "artistic in form and choice in their contents." "They all have rare words, strange combinations, and a vigorous roughness of style, and express strong emotions, like the pre-exilic prophets. They are dated in the early Persian period.

Hymnal No. 2

–Maskil–

Thirteen Psalms belonging to the late Persian period are so called. The word means a meditation, a meditative poem. They are 32, 42–45, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, 142.

Hymnal No. 3
The Davidic

Seventy-four Psalms have in their titles the name of David, which was formerly understood to mean that David was their author. These Psalms formed the first collection made for use in the synagogues after the return from the Exile. The background of these Psalms is such that it cannot be made to fit into the life and times of David. It is now realized that headlines in the Book of Psalms are worthless. It was proper that the name of David, the traditional father of religious poetry and temple worship, should be given to the first hymnal. This hymnal itself was probably issued in two editions—2 to 41, except 10, which is a continuation of 9, and 33, which seems to have been added later, formed the first—and 51 to 72, the second. This latter closes with "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." They are in the main prayers. The literary style is vigorous, fresh and free from Aramaisms. There are few liturgical formulæ. The suffering of the early post exilic period is reflected as are the teachings of the pre-exilic prophets, especially Jeremiah. There are many points of contact with Lamentations and Isaiah 40 to 56. The fact that Psalm 14 is reproduced in 53 and 31:1–3, in 71:1–3, shows that this second edition was independent of a subsequent and former edition. The collection was probably made in the early Persian period.

Hymnal No. 4
The Korahite

Eleven Psalms, 42–49, 84, 85, 87, 88, have in their titles, "A Psalm of the sons of Korah." These seem to have been taken from a collection made in the early Greek period for use in public worship. They are characterized by an earnest desire to worship, confidence in Yahweh, who watches over his own, a "highly artistic

finish and symmetrical poetic forms." These sons of Korah were prominent singers in the temple of the Restoration. It is probable therefore that these came from the late Persian period. They are "highly artistic in form," "highly poetic in content, and on the whole the choicest collection in the Psalter from a literary point of view."

Hymnal No. 5
The Asaphic

Twelve Psalms have "Asaph" in their titles and are supposed to have been taken from a collection made in Babylonia in the early Greek period. They are 50 and 73 to 83. An editor seems to have inserted the second Davidic collection into the Asaph collection and then to have inserted that into the Korah collection, which caused the division, first between 50 and 73 to 83, and second, between 42 to 49 and 84 following. These Psalms were characterized by "vivid descriptions of nature; emphasis upon the care of Providence for the individual; the use of history for teaching purposes; exalted conceptions of God and sublimity of style"—all of which seem to show the exercise of great care in making the selections. Elohim, the name used in P, is used here. Both were written in Babylonia where that name prevailed.

Hymnal No. 6
Mizmor

Fifty-seven Psalms have "Mismor" in their titles which is understood to indicate their selection from a hymnal made for singing in public worship in the synagogues in the early Greek period. The word means a piece of music, a song with instrumental accompaniment. It comes from a root meaning *to make melody*, and was later applied to instrumental as contrasted with vocal music.

Hymnal No. 7
The Elohim Psalter

Psalms 42–83 are characterized by the use of Elohim instead of Yahweh for God. These are thought to have been derived from a major Psalter, edited in Babylon in the middle of the Greek period. It is made up largely of poems contained in the previous minor Psalters. This name for God is seldom used in the other Psalms. His proper name, Yahweh, which is ordinarily used by them, is avoided here. The change from Yahweh to Elohim was evidently the purposed work of an editor. He seems to have taken Asaph as the basis of his collection, which was made at the time when Jews were averse to pronouncing the proper name of their God, Jehovah, and were accustomed to substitute some other for it.

Hymnal No. 8
The Choir Director's Psalter

In fifty-five Psalms the choir master is named, which is interpreted as meaning that they are taken from the major Psalter which bore this title. They were selected from previous minor Psalters for the prayer-book for the synagogues in Palestine in the middle Greek period. "Thirty-five of the fifty-four Mismorim were taken as a basis," sixteen are from Hymnal No. 3; four from Hymnal No. 4, and one from Hymnal No. 5. The divine name is retained. The term "Director" is used also by the chronicler. Thirty-three of them were prayers, eleven hymns, and thirteen religious poems. It is distinctively a prayer-book.

Hymnal No. 9
The Hallels

Eighteen Psalms are called "Hallels," songs of praise, because they have hallelujah in their titles. They formed a collection first made in the Greek period and enlarged in the Maccabean, to be used in the temple

service. They are in the present Psalter in four groups, 104–107, 111–117, 135–136, 146–150. The separation is supposed to be due to the final editor of the Psalter. "104–7 constitute a tetrology, 104 being a Psalm of creation, 105 telling the early history of Israel, 106 the Exodus, 107 the restoration."

Hymnal No. 10

Pilgrim Songs

In the middle Greek period a little song book was made for the pilgrims on their way to the three great feasts. They are called "Songs of Pilgrimage," 120–134. They are all hexameters of one or more hexasticks and are social and patriotic; 129 is thought to be Maccabean added later.

The Final Hymnal

After the reorganization of the worship in the Maccabean period the editor of the present Psalter undertook to prepare a hymnal for this elaborate ritual and for use in the synagogues throughout the east and the west. It was as though a final editor collected all the numbers of gospel hymns into one, adding others old and new, to make a hymnal that would be popular throughout the English-speaking world. This editor based the first part of his hymnal on the Palestinian Director's Psalter composed of thirty-five Mismorim, sixteen Davidic, four Korahite and one Asaphic. He put in the center the Babylonian Elohistic Psalter, popular in Babylon and among the Jews of the Dispersion, 42 to 83, and added 84 to 89. The third part combined the Hallels and the Pilgrim Psalter, adding others. Thus completed this great hymnal has as its background the whole history of the Hebrew race from David to Judas Maccabeus and is the product of a hundred inspired pens.

Briggs assigns seven Psalms to the early Hebrew monarchy before Jehosaphat: 7, 13, 18, 23, 24b, 60a, 110;

seven to the middle monarchy: 3, 20, 21, 27a, 45, 58, 61, and thirteen to the late monarchy: 2, 19a, 28, 36a, 46, 52, 54, 55, 56, 60b, 62, 72 and 87; he assigns thirteen to the Exile: 42, 43, 63, 74, 77a, 79, 81b, 82, 84, 88, 89b, 90, 137 and 142; to the Persian period: 4, 6, 9–10, 11, 12, 14 (53), 16, 17, 22, 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 71, 57a, 59, 64, 69a, 70 (equal to 40b), 75, 76, 78, 80, 83, 101, 109a, 140, 143, 144a, This outburst in the Persian period is attributed to the enthusiasm caused by the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, to the rebuilding of the altar and the Temple, to the restoration of worship in Jerusalem, to the struggles of the pious with the unfaithful at home and to the antagonistic spirit abroad. Briggs assigns sixteen to the times of Nehemiah: 5, 8, 15, 26, 29, 30, 40a, 47, 51, 57b, 65, 66a, 69b, 138, 139a and 141; 11 to the late Persian period: 27b, 36b, 44, 48, 49, 50, 68, 81a, 85, 89a and 102a. He attributes to the Greek period, beginning with the conquest of Alexander, 83, 96, 100, 66b, 67, 73, 86, 91, 95, 108, 145, 1, 19b, 24a, 71, 77b, 89c, 92, 94, 103, 139b, 144b and 119, besides the fourteen Pilgrim Psalms; 120 to 128, 130 to 134, and sixteen Hallels: 104–107, 111–117, 135–136, 146, 148 and 150. He ascribes to the Maccabean period: 33, 102b, 109b, 118, 139c, 129, 147 and 149.

There must have been a Great Commission in some way authorized to do the gigantic task of compiling a Hymnal suited to the needs of the east and the west alike, in the synagogues as well as in the temple, and among all types of people. They must have been discerning men, versatile in sympathy and interest, highly tuned poetic natures, with keen literary insight, and rich religious experience, for their work has survived these two millenniums and is growing more and more throughout all the world.

Poetic Forms

There are two elements in Hebrew poetry—a measured beat recurring in each line, and rhythm of thought.

That rhythm may be expressed in a single line which must be capable of being pronounced in a single easy breath as the opening words of the 18th Psalm, "I love thee, O Jehovah." This is usually found at the opening of a poem.

The second higher poetical unit is the verse, consisting of two parallel lines, the second line meaning the same as the first or contrasted with it or adding something to it.

Surely God is good to Israel;
Even to such as are pure in heart.
(Psalm 73:1.)

These synonymous lines are set over against the following:

But as for me, my feet were almost gone;
My steps had well-nigh slipped. (Psalm 73:2.)

These two pairs of synonymous lines set over against each other antithetically are followed by another couplet illustrating synthetic parallelism.

For I was envious at the arrogant,
When I saw the prosperity of the wicked.
(Psalm 73:3.)

This parallellism may extend to the tristich,

We see not our signs:
There is no more any prophet;
Neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.
(Psalm 74:9.)

Ask, and it shall be given you,
Seek, and ye shall find,
Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.
(Matt. 7:7.)

We have also the tetrastich.

I will also praise thee with the psaltery,
Even thy truth, O my God:
Unto thee will I sing praises with the harp,
O thou Holy One of Israel.
(Psalm 71:22.)

No servant can serve two masters:
For either he will hate the one, and love the other;
Or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.
Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.
(Luke 16:13; Matthew 6:24)

And the pentastich,

Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted,
Who did eat of my bread,
Hath lifted up his heel against me.
But thou, O Jehovah, have mercy upon me, and raise me up,
That I may requite them.
(Psalm 41:9–10.)

The number of lines may run to the dekastich or beyond.

In addition to the three basal types of parallelism, a common one is the climactic or ascending rhythm. The first line is incomplete and the second takes up words from the first and completes it. This kind is found chiefly in the most elevated poetry.

Ascribe unto Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty,
Ascribe unto Jehovah glory and strength.
(Psalm 29:1.)

The voice of Jehovah shaketh the wilderness;
Jehovah shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh.
(Psalm 29:8.)

For he cometh,
For he cometh to judge the earth.
(Psalm 96:13.)

Even the length of the lines sometimes has important meaning. Their advancing length may indicate advancing faith. This is beautifully illustrated in the 23d. Psalm, in which each line when properly printed is longer than the one preceding.

The reverse of this usage expresses the opposite emotion—faltering, failing faith and grief. Budde has shown that there is a Kinah measure used in the lament for the dead throughout the prophetic period. "These were universally composed in verses of two members, the length of the first of which stands to that of the second in the proportion of three to two, giving rise to a peculiar limping rhythm, in which the second member dies away and expires." Professional mourning women sang hymns in this measure at funerals. Amos uses this in wailing over fallen Israel. It is the measure of the book of Lamentations.

> The Virgin of Israel is fallen;
> She shall no more rise:
> She is cast down upon her hand;
> There is none to raise her up.

The line is the first unit; the verse of varying length is the second; the third is the strophe. "The strophe is to the poem what the lines or verses are in relation to one another in the system of parallelism. Strophes are composed of a greater or lesser number of lines, sometimes equal, and sometimes unequal. Where there is a uniform flow of the emotion the strophes will be composed of the same number of lines, and will be as regular in relation to one another as the lines of which they are composed; but where the emotion is agitated by passion, or broken by figures of speech, or abrupt in transitions, they will be irregular and uneven. The strophes are subject to the same principles of parallelism as the lines themselves, and are thus either synonymous to one another, antithetical, or progressive, in those several varieties of parallelism already mentioned. A favorite arrangement is the balancing of one strophe with another on the same principle of the distich, then again of two with one as a tristich." (Briggs.)

The most frequent structure is the pair of strophes often doubled in two parallels as eight and sixteen strophes. The triplet is also common, though its multiples are less frequent. There are also poems of five and its multiples ten, fifteen and twenty strophes. There are few of seven. Those of eleven and twenty-two are limited to two alphabetical poems. Briggs finds eight of single strophes, fifty of a pair, thirty-six of three, twelve of five, three of seven.

Psalms 42 and 43 were originally one poem of three stanzas with the refrain,

> Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
> And why art thou disquieted within me?
> Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him
> For the help of his countenance.

Such refrains occur repeatedly.

"The eighth Psalm is a beautiful example of the hymn in two strophes of eight lines each." This also exemplifies what Moulton calls "The Envelope Figure," which means that the opening and closing lines of a strophe or group of strophes are either the same or together make a unity which the intervening lines explain. These strophes may have ten or more lines.

Yahweh, our Lord,
How excellent is Thy name in all the earth!
Thou whose glory doth extend over the heavens,
Out of the mouth of little children and sucklings
Thou dost establish strength because of Thine adversaries,
That thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.
When I see Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
Moon and stars which Thou hast prepared;
What is frail man, that Thou shouldst be mindful of him?
Or the son of man, that Thou visitest him?

When Thou didst make him a little lower than divine beings,
With glory and honor crowning him,
Thou makest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands;
All things Thou didst put under his feet:
Sheep and oxen, all of them;
And also beasts of the field;
Birds of heaven, and fishes of the sea;
Those that pass through the paths of the sea.
Yahweh, our Lord,
How excellent is Thy name in all the earth.

(Psalm 8.)

By their fruits ye shall know them.
Do men gather grapes of thorns?
Or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit;
But the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit,
Neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit
Is hewn down and cast into the fire.
Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Just as the increasing length of the lines indicates advance in faith and the shortening of them the opposite, so the advancing length of the stanzas suggests advancing faith; the opposite retarding faith. The latter is beautifully illustrated in one of the earliest odes composed of three strophes of six, five and four lines each, producing a dirge-like effect.

Come to Heshbon!
Built, yea established be the city of Sihon;
For fire went forth from Heshbon,
Flame from the city of Sihon.
It consumed Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of Arnon.

Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art lost, people of Chemosh!
He hath given over his sons into flight,
And his daughters into captivity,
Unto the king of the Amorites, Sihon!

Then we shot at them—He was lost—
Heshbon unto Dibon—
And we wasted them even unto Nophah,
With fire unto Medeba.

The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah by the increasing number of lines in the stanza over the preceding shows the suffering servant passing through persecution, through the jaws of death to ultimate triumph and satisfaction with the travail of his soul.

I

lii. 13: Behold, my servant shall prosper,
Shall rise, be lift up, be exceedingly high.

Like as they that were astonied before thee were many,
—So marred from a man's was his visage,
And his form from the children of men!—
So shall the nations he startles be many,
Before him shall kings shut their mouths.
For that which had never been told them they see,
And what they had heard not, they have to consider.

II

Who gave believing to that which we heard,
And the arm of Jehovah, to whom was it bared?
For he sprung like a sapling before Him,
As a root from the ground that is parched;
He had no form nor beauty that we should regard him,
Nor aspect that we should desire him.
Despised and rejected of men,

Man of pains and familiar with ailing,
And as one we do cover the face from,
Despised, and we did not esteem him.

III

Surely our ailments he bore,
And our pains he did take for his burden,
But we—we accounted him stricken,
Smitten of God and degraded.
Yet he—he was pierced for crimes that were ours,
He was crushed for guilt that was ours,
The chastisement of our peace was upon him,
By his stripes healing is ours.
Of us all like to sheep went astray,
Every man to his way we did turn,
And Jehovah made light upon him
The guilt of us all.

IV

Oppressed, he did humble himself,
Nor opened his mouth—
As a lamb to the slaughter is led,
As a sheep 'fore her shearers is dumb—
Nor opened his mouth.
By tyranny and law was he taken
And of his age who reflected,
That he was wrenched from the land of the living,
For My people's transgressions the stroke was on him?
So they made with the wicked his grave,
Yea, with the felon his tomb.
Though never harm had he done,
Neither was guile in his mouth.

V

But Jehovah had purposed to bruise him,
Had laid on him sickness;
So if his lips should offer guilt offering,

A seed he should see, he should lengthen his days.
And the purpose of Jehovah by his hand should prosper,
From the travail of his soul shall he see,
By his knowledge be satisfied.
My Servant, the Righteous, righteousness wins he for many
And their guilt he takes for his load.
Therefore, I set him a share with the great;
Yea, with the strong shall he share the spoil:
Because that he poured out his life unto death,
Let himself with transgressors be reckoned;
Yea, he the sin of the many hath borne,
And for the transgressors he interposes.

While parallelism of lines indicates rhythm of thought meter is based upon the number of beats within the line, three and five being most frequently used. The word is the unit. Two words may be run together into a single beat. These beats are used to express changing moods. Take as an example a passage or two from Joel, whose most characteristic movement is the staccato beat of the tetrameter, which he used with telling effect. Notice how beautifully appropriate is the quick movement of the lines in 2:7–9, where the rapid, orderly march of the army of locusts is described:

Like warriors they run, like soldiers they advance,
They march each in his own way, and do not entangle their paths.
None pushes the other, each goes on his own track,
They plunge through the weapons, and are not held back.
They rush upon the city, they run upon the walls,
They climb into the houses, through the windows they enter.

The staccato movement used to describe the rapid and terrible march of the army of locusts in 2:7–11 changes

to the hexameter, to express the pleading tones of Yahweh's appeal in 2:12–14.

Yet even now, is Yahweh's oracle, turn unto me with all
your heart,
With fasting and weeping and mourning, but rend your
hearts and not your garments!
And return to Yahweh, your God, for gracious is he and
compassionate,
Long-suffering, and plenteous in love, and relents of the
evil.
Who knows but He will turn and relent, and leave behind
Him a blessing,
(For) meal offerings and libations to Yahweh your God?

The hexameter is used also in measured address to the people and in giving the promise of Yahweh. Hebrew poets used rhythm, assonance, alliteration, onomatopœia. The sixth Psalm as arranged by Briggs shows the extent to which rhyme was carried.

Yahweh, do not in Thine anger rebuke *me.*
Yahweh, do not in Thy heat chasten *me.*
Since I am withered be gracious to *me;*
Since my bones are vexed heal *me;*
Yea sorely vexed is *my* soul,
And it is come, Yahweh, unto *my* death.
O return, deliver *my* soul:
For the sake of thy kindness save *me.*
For in death there is no remembrance of *thee:*
In Sheol, who will give thanks to *thee?*

I am weary with *my* groaning;
All night make I to swim *my* bed;
I water with my tears *my* couch.
Because of grief wasteth away *mine* eye;
It waxeth old because of *mine* adversary.
All ye workers of iniquity, depart from *me;*
For Yahweh hath heard the voice of *my* weeping;

Yahweh hath heard *my* supplication;
Yahweh receiveth *my* prayer.
They will be ashamed and will be sore vexed all *mine* enemies!

Word-play is quite common. "Joel, for example," says Sir George Adam Smith, "loads his clauses with the most leaden letters he can find, and drops them in quick succession, repeating the same heavy word again and again, as if he would stun the careless people into some sense of the bare, brutal calamity which has befallen them."

In the song of Deborah (Judges 5:22), the word-painting is so vivid that you can hear the wild running of the horses in the sound of the words. The most characteristic example of word-play is the apocalypse of Isaiah 24–27, the first two lines of which translated are,

"As the smiting of those that smote him hath he smitten him?
Or as the slaying of them that were slain by him is he slain?"

The first pentameter strophe of Psalm 110 is an example of assonance.

Utterance of Yahweh to *my* Lord—Sit at *my* right hand,
Until I put *thine* enemies—the stool for thy feet.
With the rod of *thy* strength—rule in the midst of Thine enemies.
Thy people will be volunteers—in the day of *thy* host, on the holy mountains,
From the womb of the morning there will be for *thee*,—the dew of *thy* young men.

Sometimes the change of a single word or even a letter produces great force.

At the brooks of Reuben were great decrees of mind.
Why didst thou dwell among the sheepfolds,
Listening to the bleatings of the flocks?
At the brooks of Reuben were great searchings of mind.
(Judges 5:15–16.)

A slight change of decrees in the first line to searchings in the fourth emphasizes the change of determination into timid, hesitating searchings of the mind.

The very letters of the Hebrew speak with telling effect. "But when as in some passages of the prophets the speaker gives himself up to denounce or to imprecate, his lines are packed with words still more full of gutturals. In Hebrew, to call with the throat is to speak with vehemence. The dry climate and large leisure of the East bestow on the lower chords of the voice a greater depth and suppleness; and Orientals have elaborated their throat-letters to a number unmarked in any Western alphabet." The gentlest measures of extraordinary beauty are produced by the mingling of the softer gutturals with the liquids.

Send out Thy light and Thy truth,
They be that lead me!
Why dost thou give in, O my soul,
And be moaning upon me?
Hold thou to God, for yet shall I praise Him,
My courage, my God!
(Psalm 43:3–5.)

Comfort ye, comfort my people,
Saith your God.
(Isaiah 40:1.)

The doubling of consonants is made to produce a strong effect such as the crashing and reverberation of the sea or of peoples in tumult.

Than voices of waters immense
More majestic than breakers of oceans,
Majestic on high, Yahweh.

(Psalm 93:4.)

"Or the passage in which Isaiah has by long vowels rendered the slow lift and roll of the billows, but by doubled consonants their distinct booming; and then, as they are checked, their crash and hissing sweep along the Syrian coast (Isaiah 17:12-13). He is using this as a figure of the vain tumult of the peoples against the God of Israel."

Woe, the booming of peoples multitudinous!
As the booming of seas are they booming;
And the crash of nations immense,
As the crash of waters are crashing;

(Nations—as the crash of great waters are crashing).
But he chides it, it fleeth afar,
Chased as chaff of the hills by the wind,
As dust-rings in front of the storm.

"The Hebrew poets, unlike the Greek, lived in intimate touch with nature, though the word never occurs, caught its shifting moods and told its wondrous story in words none can miss. Hear one of them describe the mingling of earthquake and thunderstorm. Notice how the former is felt only at the beginning and end of the piece. Between these the thunderstorm dominates —dominates even the earthquake, which is stilled till it has passed. Never was a more sublime theophany. The equal massiveness and rapidity of the clouds, the awful darkness, the thought of the pent-up waters packing the heavens, the flash of the God's approach, the thundering, the zigzags crossing and shivering through each other, the revel of the lightnings—all is described in a way which defies translation."

Then the earth shook and trembled;
The foundations also of the mountains quaked
And were shaken, because he was wroth.
There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
And fire out of his mouth devoured:
Coals were kindled by it.
He bowed the heavens also, and came down;
And thick darkness was under his feet.
And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly;
Yea, he soared upon the wings of the wind.
He made darkness his hidingplace, his pavilion round about him,
Darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.
At the brightness before him his thick clouds passed,
Hailstones and coals of fire.
Jehovah also thundered in the heavens,

And the Most High uttered his voice,
Hailstones and coals of fire.
And he sent out his arrows, and scattered them;
Yea, lightnings manifold, and discomfited them.
Then the channels of waters appeared,
And the foundations of the world were laid bare,
At thy rebuke, O Jehovah,
At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.

And again in the twenty-ninth Psalm. Here the storm forms on the Mediterranean amid roaring thunders; passes over Lebanon, breaking the cedars, making the mountains skip like a calf or a wild ass, passes with flashing lightning into the wilderness, stripping the forests bare and terrorizing wild animals, finding an echo of its tumult in the shouting of glory in the Temple. The disappearing of the storm into the desert brings the beautiful quieting assurance,—" Peace."

Jehovah will give strength unto his people,
Jehovah will bless his people with peace.

Ascribe unto Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty,
Ascribe unto Jehovah glory and strength.
Ascribe unto Jehovah the glory due unto his name;
Worship Jehovah in holy array.
The voice of Jehovah is upon the waters:
The God of glory thundereth,
Even Jehovah upon many waters.
The voice of Jehovah is powerful;
The voice of Jehovah is full of majesty.
The voice of Jehovah breaketh the cedars;
Yea, Jehovah breaketh in pieces the cedars of Lebanon.
He maketh them also to skip like a calf;
Lebanon and Sirion like a young wild-ox.
The voice of Jehovah cleaveth the flames of fire.
The voice of Jehovah shaketh the wilderness;
Jehovah shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh.
The voice of Jehovah maketh the hinds to calve,
And strippeth the forests bare:
And in his temple everything saith,
Glory.
Jehovah sat as King at the Flood;
Yea, Jehovah sitteth as King for ever.
Jehovah will give strength unto his people;
Jehovah will bless his people with peace.

X

The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry

Singing had large place in Hebrew life.

"All that moved the souls of the multitude was expressed in song; it was indispensable to the sports of peace, it was a necessity for the rest from battle, it cheered the feast and the marriage (Is. 5:12; Amos 6:5; Jd. 14), it lamented in the hopeless dirge for the dead, (II Sam. 3:33), it united the masses, it blessed the individual, and was everywhere the lever of culture. Young men and maidens vied with one another in learning

beautiful songs, and cheered with them the festive gatherings of the villages, and the still higher assemblies at the sanctuary of the tribes. The maidens at Shiloh went yearly with songs and dances into the vineyards (Judges 21:19), and those of Gilead repeated the sad story of Jephthah's daughter (Judges 11:40); the boys learned David's lament over Jonathan (II Sam. 18); shepherds and hunters at their evening rest by the springs of the wilderness sang songs to the accompaniment of the flute (Judges 5:11). The discovery of a fountain was an occasion of joy and song (Numbers 21:17). The smith boasted defiantly of the products of his labor (Gen. 4:23). Riddles and witty sayings enlivened the social meal (Judges 14:12; I Kings 10). Even into the lowest spheres the spirit of poetry wandered and ministered to the most ignoble pursuits (Is. 23:15 f.)." Their songs, like all the rest of their literature, were religious.

The Jew viewed all things from the standpoint of experience. He looked out upon the world from within. He was unable to transfer himself to the viewpoint of the outer and material and look inward. He was therefore incapable of writing drama, for he could not interpret the feelings and movements of another. Nor could he transfer himself from one world to another as could Browning. He could not become another person and live the life of another, presenting the world from the other's standpoint. He looked at everything out of life's Holy of Holies. Even his word-painting, which is rich and beautiful, is given, not for its own sake but for the sake of the religious message it carries, for the sake of the inner life in whose interest he speaks.

It moves in the regions of sensations and impressions rather than of cold thinking. "It expresses emotion always by naming the sensations of which the emotion consists. Here is an expression from the Psalms of hopeless despair:

'Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul.
I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing;
I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me.
I am weary with crying, my throat is dried:
Mine eyes fail while I wait for my God.'

Notice the number of sensations which are named: 'My throat is dried,' 'mine eyes fail,' and the sensation of sinking in deep mire with all its implications of spasmodic and desperate struggle." (Prof. J. H. Gardiner.) Another example is the apparition described in Job 12. Eliphaz was asleep, yet half-seeing. He trembles, his bones shake; a slight breeze passes before his face; his hair stands on end; the apparition pauses before him, giving a vague awareness of an object near; an image floats by; there is silence broken only by whispered words—all given to produce in the reader the sense of terror taking hold upon a lone soul at midnight as a ghost hovers before him. So the sense of joy, of buoyancy, is given in terms of the bodily accompaniments in us of these emotions. The Hebrew lends itself well to this method of expression, as its words go back immediately to things of sense, to concrete objects and acts in the outer world. To be jealous is to glow; to decide is to cut; to be angry is to boil; to burn, to breathe rapidly with nostrils dilated. Self is called "bone." What is good is "straight." Modern psychology has come to the ancient Hebrew way of describing the emotions. Professor James analyzes fear, for example, into the feeling of quickened heart-beats, shallow breathing, trembling lips, weakened limbs, goose flesh, visceral stirrings. Rage consists of ebullition in the chest, flushing of the face, dilation of the nostrils, clinching of the teeth, impulse to vigorous action. "The unsurpassed power of the Hebrew poetry and its unfailing hold on our imaginations may be ascribed to this fact: that it always

expresses emotions directly and concretely through sensations instead of describing them by words which are abstract and therefore pale."

This is one reason for the "permanent appeal" of these ancient poems. "The great body of our sensations and feelings does not change from generation to generation. The horror of despair at sinking in deep mire, the dread at the creeping mysteries of the night, or the delight in uttering forth our joy in song—all are the same thing for us today that they were for these ancient Hebrews two thousand years ago." "Thus a literature which is able to express itself through these inalterable sensations has a permanence of power impossible to any literature which is phrased largely in abstractions and inferences from these sensations."

Even in its sublimest strains, it is always simple and natural. The poet looked at things with a child-like directness. All thought and action are in close vital contact with living impressions and feelings. The Jew did not reason; he saw and told what he saw. Everything with the Jew was concrete. His language was wanting in abstract terms and compound words. His words express things and actions rather than ideas. Even the adjectives are derived from concrete objects. Descriptions are often given in such minute detail as to be tiresome. Witness the description of the crocodile in Job. 41:12 f. His imagery is taken from the manifold variations of nature and life as the poet knew them—the heavens above, the earth below, the occupations of men in war and in peace, fighting, hunting, plowing, sowing, reaping, mining, trading, tending flocks, with moving caravans, in the tent and outside of it, in the Temple, among the mountains, on the grass, from the sea, the storm, animals and birds, historic places and incidents. The nature Psalms are well known—18, 19, 29, 65, 93, 104. But the imagination is given play only in subordination to religious sentiment. There is enthusiasm for

moral goodness rather than for beauty. There is no mere expression of delight at the glories of nature, no use of imagery for the pleasure of the picture, little sense of color. All nature reveals God and is in sympathy with man and will come with him to judgment.

The language makes it possible for the poetry to be wonderfully terse and condensed. The first verse of the 94th Psalm has six Hebrew words, translated in the Revised Version by sixteen. In the 10th and 12th verses of the fourth chapter of Job there are six different Hebrew words for lion, including one for "whelps," which is not confined to the whelps of the lion. It is impossible for the English reader to appreciate the deftness with which the gorgeous imagery is woven. Hebrew poetry is vivid and dramatic. The very words seem often to quiver with life and power and the images they suggest pass before you in living form. The words often seem to come from somewhere beyond the speakers, charged with pent-up passion.

It is bold and daring. Job, for example, shakes his fist in the face of the Almighty (Job 7:12).

> Am I a sea, or a sea monster,
> That thou settest a watch over me?
> When I say, My bed shall comfort me,
> My couch shall ease my complaint;
> Then thou scarest me with dreams,
> And terrifiest me through visions:
> So that my soul chooseth strangling,
> And death rather than these my bones.

Much of our modern poetry, the best of it, has a suggestion of playing at life; its characters acting parts, the authors looking on and penetrating life's mysteries by "flashes of genius." Not so here. The poets of the Bible are all in dead earnest. They bring forth their poems as the mother her child, because they must. The great poets of Israel "play upon the heart of the Hebrew

people as upon a thousand-stringed lyre, striking the tones with divinely guided touch, so that from the dirge of rapidly succeeding disaster and ruin they rise through penitence and petition to faith, assurance, exultation, and hallelujah; laying hold of the deep thoughts and everlasting faithfulness of God; binding the past and the present by a chain of light to the impending Messianic future; seeing and rejoicing in the glory of God, which, though now for a season shrouded behind the clouds of disaster, is soon to burst forth in an unique day."

The Hebrews were people of great passion. Their emotional life—their love and their hate alike—are "world great" because they were "world deep."

In it we can feel the mighty billows of the soul's infinite sea now rolling in at high tide, now storm lashed and surging, now falling back and ebbing away, now hushed into silence, and rest, and peace. We can see in its shifting moods the lights and shadows of earth and sky, and reflected on its heaving bosom in beautiful pantomime the movements of all the world.

Professor A. R. Gordon has beautifully characterised it in his "The Poets of the Old Testament":

"The distinction of the heaven-born poet is that he not merely feels, and that more keenly than other men, but likewise gives immortal expression to the feelings that thus well up within him. And perhaps no words can better convey the peculiar quality of poetic speech than Milton's oft-quoted remark, that it must be 'simple, sensuous, and passionate! Other ideals have, indeed, held sway in their time. But true poetry has always come back to the realities of nature and life. Poetry being the language of the heart, that style is most appropriate which speaks directly and unaffectedly to the heart. For the same reason, poetic diction is 'sensuous' or pictorial. The sphere of cold abstraction is altogether alien to poetry. Its world is one of warm, full-blooded life, suffused with glowing imagination,

and rich in figures of speech—metaphors and similes and pictures drawn or suggested. In like manner, poetry is passionate. Being inspired by feeling, it must also throb with feeling. The touch of passion is, indeed, the truest test of the feeling which is the very soul of poetry.

"If we may judge by these standards, the Hebrew speech approves itself one of the fittest vehicles of poetical expression. Like other Semitic languages, it is marked by great simplicity of form. The rigidity of its three-lettered root scheme, its lack of precise distinctions of time within the verb forms, its weakness in connective particles, and its general incapacity for abstractions, prevented its ever attaining the subtle logical effects of Greek or our complex modern languages. But this very failure in philosophical grasp enhances the pictorial power of the speech. In Hebrew all things appear in action. The verb is the predominant element in the sentence. And, though the shades of time distinction are blurred, the richness of the language in intensive forms throws the precise complexion of the act into clear, strong light. But even the simplicity of the tenses heightens the pictorial effect; and the paratactic connection of the clauses gives the Hebrew sentence the appearance of a series of artistic strokes, often of gem-like brilliance. Hebrew possesses likewise a great wealth of synonyms, especially in descriptions of the common scenes and interests of life, and in the region of feeling. The language is equally rich in imagery. The daring boldness and luxuriance of its figures are, indeed, almost oppressive to the modern mind. But the Hebrew poet himself was unconscious of any wanton riot of imagination. To him the bold, swift changes of metaphor were natural reflections of the play of passion in the soul. For Hebrew poetry is preëminently passionate. The 'simple, sensuous' speech is but a veil, which thrills and quivers with the poet's every passing emotion.

"The fiery energy of Hebrew is often felt to be gained

at the expense of beauty. The profusion of compressed consonants, sibilants and gutturals even conveys to Western ears an unpleasing impression of piercing intensity and harshness. But the sharper sibilants are mainly expressive of keen emotions of grief or triumph, and are thus in artistic harmony with the passionate genius of the language, while the purity with which the gutturals are breathed from the open throat tones down the harshness that might otherwise be felt. Hebrew has its full share, too, of the more liquid consonants, with a variety of vowel tones ranging from the rich broad 'a' to the light shewa, yielding the possibility of a manifold interplay of sounds. The strength of the double letters, with the normal alterations of vowel and consonant, give the language also something of the tuneful flexibility of Arabic or Italian. The Hebrew poets were fully aware of the musical potentialities of their speech, and sensitive to the magical effects produced by harmonies of sound. The musical quality of Hebrew may be appreciated even by the Western student who listens sympathetically to the rendering of the Sabbath service in the Synagogues especially of the Spanish Jews. And the poetry of the Old Testament shows harmonious effects of surprising power. The reproduction of the furious gallop of the strong ones 'by the waters of Megiddo,' or the crashing of the fatal blow on Sisera, in the sounding notes of Deborah's great battle-hymn (Judges v. 22–26), the unmistakable suggestions of the 'surging of the peoples, that surge like the surging of the seas,' and the ' rushing of the nations, that rush like the rushing of mighty waters' (Isaiah 17:12 f.), and Nahum's brilliant picture of the flashing and raging of the war-chariots at the assault of Nineveh (Nah. 2:3 f.), rank among the finest verbal effects in literature. But even apart from such obvious efforts of art, and the simpler musical charms produced by alliteration and assonance, the Hebrew poets display a true power in the wed-

ding of sounds to tones of feeling. Many of the Psalms are real studies in harmony. The first, for example, opens with a play of sibilants gliding into easy liquids and labials, as the Psalmist passes from the dark and dangerous paths of the wicked to contemplate the joyous fortunes of the good. With v. 4 the duller sounds predominate, the tone only rising in sympathy with the expression of sure confidence in v. 6. The second Psalm offers a yet more remarkable example of tonal harmony. The tumultuous gathering of the nations is depicted in a series of rushing 'sh,' 'r' and 'm' sounds, supported mainly by heavy vowels. As the enemy take counsel together against the Almighty, the tone rises almost to a shriek through the succession of compressed consonants, 'c,' 's,' and 'h,' mingled with the sharper vowels, 'i,' 'e,' and short 'a.' In v. 3 the breaking of the chains is distinctly audible in the snapping tones of the verb 'nenattekah.' The subsequent transition from the calm majesty in which the Almighty sits enthroned in heaven to His outbreak of stormy indignation against the wicked is equally well reflected in the sound of the verses. In contrast with the rage and tumult of this Psalm, the eighth offers a good example of the feeling of repose and confidence suggested by the quieter tones of speech, while through the pastoral beauty of the twenty-third an unmistakable effect is produced by the gently rushing 'sh' sounds and the murmuring 'ms.' The same æsthetic pleasure is gained from a study of the finer passages of the Song of Songs and Job. In the glad spring-song (Song ii. 8 f) the vowels and consonants seem to dance in harmony with the rhythm. The changing moods of Job are likewise reflected in the sounds. Thus the general tone of the picture of Sheol (iii. 13 f) is grave and dull, the radiant vision of Job's past happiness (ch. xxix) is pitched on a high, clear key, while the majesty of the divine utterance is sustained by a rich variety of the verbal harmonies.

"In close relation to the musical quality of poetic speech is its rhythmical movement. This also reflects the play of the emotions. Under the influence of any deep passion, the heart heaves beneath the tide of feeling with a surging motion whose ebb and flow resemble the onward sweep of the breakers on the shore. Our quieter feelings find likewise their relief in rhythmical waves. And this is but part of a far wider movement; for Nature and life are one vast universe of rhythms. In giving utterance to his feelings in rhythmical forms, the poet is no doubt directly impelled by the inward movement of his soul. But stimuli from without also bear upon him. In his classical study of Work on Rhythm, Prof. Kark Bücher of Leipsig has traced the far-reaching influence of the rhythm of daily labor in primitive folk-poetry. But, even in these lower ranges of art, imitation of the sounds and movements of animal life makes likewise for rhythmical utterance. Arabic scholars are generally agreed in connecting the peculiar stride of the typical Arabic poem with the slow, steady march of the camel. The rider crooning his lay insensibly fell into the camel's swing, and so gave his poetry that particular movement, though even in Arabic the more rapid rhythm of the gallop may be caught at times. In the ascending scale of art, many other impulses touch the poet's imagination, causing his strain to

'Modulate with murmurs of the air,
And motions of the forest and the sea,
The voice of living beings, and woven hymns
Of night and day, and the deep heart of man.'"

XI

Religious Ideas of the Psalms

It is difficult to trace with certainty any development of leading ideas in the Psalms. Indeed the poetry of

worship is never to be interpreted as a source book of formal theological conceptions. There will certainly be contradictory ideas in scraps of poetry selected from any wide range of experience. Such is the case here. God is presented in the 18th Psalm, confessedly the oldest of them all, as a war God riding upon the thunderstorm, fighting his battles with thunder, hail, stones, coals of fire. He is marching out of Seir, accompanied by earthquake and thunderstorm to fight the battles of Israel (Judges 5). In this very 18th Psalm also occurs the beautiful sentiment, "Thy gentleness hath made me great." So we may find scattered through the Psalms the crude realistic conceptions of Yahweh along with the most exalted. This should not surprise Methodists, for one of their hymns represents God as running the world with his nod (No. 99). The tenderness and severity of God are both found, but Jehovah's righteousness pervades and thrills everything.

The conception of man also varies; from the most exalted position next to God, claiming privileges with the Most High, to the lowest crying piteously for undeserved help. But communion with God is intimate and sweet throughout. God's love never lets go and the Psalmist's faith never finally loses its grip.

Worship is conceived as spiritual without the intervention of sacrifice and offering. This represents the prophetic view which laid little value upon, if it did not positively deny the validity of, the cult. But there are Psalms also in which sacrifice is approved as a method of worship.

The ethical standards are not as high as those of the wisdom literature which voiced distinctively a moral and educational movement. There have been those who have found difficulty with the so-called Imprecatory Psalms as representing a low ethical standard. How are we to defend such vengeful passages as the following: "Ah, that will be a glad day for the righteous. He

shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked; So that men shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous: Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth " (Psalm 58), and again,

Set thou a wicked man over him;
And let an adversary stand at his right hand.
When he is judged, let him come forth guilty;
And let his prayer be turned into sin.
Let his days be few;
And let another take his office.
Let his children be fatherless,
And his wife a widow.
Let his children be vagabonds, and beg;
And let them seek their bread out of their desolate places.
Let the extortioner catch all that he hath;
And let strangers make spoil of his labor.
Let there be none to extend kindness unto him;
Neither let there be any to have pity on his fatherless children.
Let his posterity be cut off;
In the generation following let their name be blotted out.
Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with Jehovah;
And let not the sin of his mother be blotted out.
Let them be before Jehovah continually,
That he may cut off the memory of them from the earth;
Because he remembered not to show kindness,
But persecuted the poor and needy man,
And the broken in heart, to slay them.
Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him:
And he delighted not in blessing, and it was far from him.
He clothes himself also with cursing as with his garment,
And it came into his inward parts like water,
And like oil into his bones.

Let it be unto him as the raiment wherewith he covered himself,
And for the girdle wherewith he is girded continually.
This is my reward of mine adversaries from Jehovah,
And of them that speak evil against my soul.

Let it be remembered that we have here a record of what men said to God and not what God said to men. It is the hot outburst of pent-up indignation; the indignation of an ancient people who lived largely in the realm of the emotions and uttered them without restraint. We will do both ourselves and these writers grave injustice to read back into their times the so-called standards of our own. Noah was a righteous man in his generation. He would not be a righteous man now. The moral strength of a people is measured by their capacity for indignation. A milk-and-water, easy-going, submissive, timid man that cannot be stirred into righteous fury, is not a Christian, whatever else he may be. The passivity of Jesus has been overdone. There were at least four things that brought Him to his feet with invectives unsurpassed for fierceness. These were the commercializing of religion, autocracy that laid burdens upon the helpless by prescribing impossible regulations for them, insincerity, and hypocrisy in high places. The love of Jesus was a consuming fire. Witness his valedictory to the Scribes and Pharisees on Tuesday afternoon of Passion Week. (Matt. 23).

The social emphasis is strong; there is much regard for the poor and needy, the hapless and the helpless. But this was chiefly within Israel with little or no interest in the outside world. The feeling of social solidarity was so strong that many interpreters understand the "I" used in some of the Psalms as referring to the personified nation or religious community rather than to the poet himself. Whether this is true or not, it cannot be denied that the feeling was so powerful as to indicate

a strong church consciousness running through the experiences of the post-exilic times.

The faces of the Psalmists were all toward the sunrise. They believed the best was yet to be; that redemption would somehow come to Israel. The on-going stream of the life of God in the soul of this race pointed everywhere to a Messianic time yet to come. The Messiah, the anointed one, was a term that might be applied to king, prophet or priest, who had received the anointing of oil. The first certain application of the term Messiah to a definite individual as their deliverer occurs in the 17th of the Psalms of Solomon, a Psalter outside the Old Testament in which Pompey is described, written, therefore, about the middle of the first century B. C. The idea of deliverance began early and developed late into that of a Deliverer. Optimism prevailed everywhere, based upon the belief that God was pledged to the rescue of His own in the Messianic time when His kingdom would be set up on earth and the Jew and Jerusalem be the center of the whole wide world. To His Covenant with them they turned when hope was darkest. Deliverance was to come not through a human individual but directly from God Himself. The passages interpreted as referring to Jesus have been overworked. The value of prophecy in proof of His Divinity lies not in the foretelling of definite incidents. That would prove nothing. It lies rather in the preparation of the Jews for Him. The old argument was, given Prophecy and Miracles and the Divinity of Christ follows. The new argument is, given the Personality of Jesus and Prophecy as a preparation for His coming and Miracles as the extraordinary expression of that Personality follows. Such a Person argues a long line of movement toward the fullness of time when the human spirit would be ready for Him. Such a Person could not touch this planet without shaking its very foundations. When we start with Him, therefore, there need be no trouble with the ancient dogma of his Divin-

ity. And to start with Him requires only that we read the Four Gospels without presupposition or prejudice, with the will to do God's will.

What have the Psalms to say about the after life? One of the marvellous things about the Old Testament is that it was a religion without an eternal outlook for the individual. The prophets received no word of comfort from beyond the grave. The fact that this belief was entirely absent before the captivity and rather unimportant in the later writers, has been interpreted as meaning that the sense of personality was hardly then realized. The center of the community was not the individual but the nation, the community, the family. Individual self-consciousness is necessary to strong belief in immortality. In the prophets it was the nation that sinned and was punished; it was the nation that was to win a resurrection by obedience. National unfaithfulness to Yahweh was the cause of their calamities.

There was a sort of after life held out to the individual in Sheol, a subterranean cavern in the bowels of the earth. The word probably means, "what is low, deep down." The idea probably grew out of bodies being buried together in caves. The soul was thought to hover near the body. There semi-conscious disembodied spirits dragged out a forlorn existence without remembrance and without hope. The good and the bad are there. There was no idea of retribution and reward. The bad fared as well as the good. People prayed to be delivered from Sheol, from the pit, which means that they prayed to be kept alive in the upper world where fellowship and praise are possible.

"For in death there is no remembrance of thee:
In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?" (6:5.)

"What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit?
Shall the dust praise thee? shall it declare thy truth?" (30:9.)

"Oh spare me, that I may recover strength,
Before I go hence and be no more." (39:13.)

"I am reckoned with them that go down into the pit;
I am as a man that hath no help,
Cast off among the dead,
Like the slain that lie in the grave,
Whom thou rememberest no more,
And they are cut off from thy hand." (88:4–5).

"Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?
Shall they that are deceased arise and praise thee?
Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave?
Or thy faithfulness in destruction?" (88:10.)

"The dead praise not Jehovah,
Neither any that go down into silence." (115:17).

There is no hope of a resurrection in the Psalter. The prophets believe in a national not a personal resurrection as a preparation for the Messianic kingdom; and the Psalmist's strength and inspiration are to be found, not in foregleams of a resurrection morning but rather in the richness and fulness of the life here and now in intimate touch with God and in loyal obedience to His will.

The Psalms and hymns of the ancient world that have come down to us fail to voice our human heart cries and so belong to the dead things of the past, but this collection of lyric poems is destined to live while human nature endures. For they compass the measureless areas of life's restless sea, sound its abysmal deeps, penetrate its subtle mysteries, catch its shifting moods, and turn even its tumult and its moaning into music that gladdens the world.

PART FOUR

THE SAGES AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY

I

Introductory

When the enemies of Jeremiah, in reply to his attacks upon them, said: "The law shall not perish from the priests, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the Prophet;" they gave the completest summary of the three chief classes of leaders at work in Ancient Israel to be found in the Old Testament. They took their rise in one man, Samuel, who combined in himself the functions of all three. The first of these to be developed was, as we have seen, the prophet, who was the seer of his time. His mission was not primarily to foretell but to forthtell the will of God. It was his not only to see the face of the sky, but to discern the signs of the times. The Prophetic movement is perhaps the very greatest religious-literary movement of the ages. The second movement in Ancient Israel was the priestly. Beginning perhaps with duties not unlike those of a sexton, they developed into a powerful factor in Jewish life. The third movement of special importance was that which gave rise to the Wisdom Literature. The wise men are less known as a distinct class, than either of the other two, because the Historical Books were written by the Prophets and the Priests and from their standpoint, and because their methods of work were not such as to bring them into public notice. We are left, therefore, to inference and chance allusions for what we know of them. Theirs was really an intellectual, an educational movement. The first wise man of whom we hear was a woman—the wise woman of Tekoa, later the home of Amos. She was used by Joab to induce David to recall Absolom. The second wise man was also a woman, the

Wise Woman of the town of Abel, who saved the town by surrendering the head of Sheba to Joab. The first to achieve permanent renown in this field was Solomon, who was said to be wiser than all men—than those of the East and Egypt. He spoke three thousand Proverbs, and seems to have established in Jerusalem a sort of University, which was so famous as to attract students from many parts of the world. Ethan, the Ezraite, Heman, Colcol, and Darda, were well-known contemporaries of Solomon in this line of work. The Prophets refer to the Wise as a distinct class. Isaiah foretold that the wisdom of their wise men should perish; and Ezekiel, that they should seek a vision of the prophet, but the law should not perish from the Priests, and counsel from the Elders. David quotes to Saul the proverbs of the Ancients. Job pictures the Wise reasoning together. At first they seem to have been divided into different schools and one school did not hesitate to call the wisdom of others folly. But they seem to have come together later on in a great educational movement which remained always close to the people. They were the first to break the shackles of ancient tradition and racial exclusiveness and come out in the open as universalist, and individualists. Their message was not to the State nor to the Church, but to the individual. They treated man as man.

There is no evidence that they wore an official garb. The clerical coat of the modern clergyman as well as the white robes of the Priests would not be needed by men living among men, and touching vitally the lives of those with whom they were working. There is no evidence of eligibility to the order secured by inheritance, nor of any formal induction into office.

They made no claim to a special divine call, nor even to inspiration. Their equipment seems to have been natural ability educated by experience. They seem to have been almost entirely old men, men who had stood the test of actual life in contact with stern reality. It is

not known whether they devoted all their time to public service. Nor are we told how they were supported. They seem to have received not fees, but possibly gifts. Proverbs draws a graphic picture of the fool trying to buy wisdom, which would indicate that they were accustomed to pay for advice. They were contemporary with the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

Their methods: They took their disciples wherever they found them, turned aside with them, walked with them, asked and answered questions, always dealing with the individual, who was addressed as "My son." They were button-hole Philosophers, peripatetics, alert for responsive souls in need of their message. They were "Reprovers in the Gate." It is thought that they were a sort of Ways and Means committee of large influence in the gates of the town, where government was administered. They went out also as messengers, with an appealing invitation to Wisdom's feast. They would therefore, occasionally make speeches from the Bema of the Prophets, on the streets, in the public squares, at the gates. They were immensely popular with the people and seemed never to have suffered personal violence, as did the Prophets. There were, however, scorners who refused their teachings. The type of their work is indicated by the fact that education can be substituted for wisdom in most places where that word occurs. They were old-time schoolmasters, each with his inner circle of disciples, who fed at his table and drank at his soul-springs.

Their relations to the Prophets and the Priests: They cared little or nothing about ritual and the cult. Their interest in the nation was secondary. Proverbs uses man thirty-three times, but never mentions Israel. The mission of the Prophet was to the State, and his mission culminated when the nation fell. He dealt with the public rather than the people. His attitude toward the Priest was never, as a rule, particularly cordial, and the churchly

aspect of social life was secondary to the national. The chief concern of the Priest was the Church, to which alone his message was given. Neither the Prophet nor the Priest dealt primarily with the individual, with whom alone the Sage had to do. The message of the Prophet being to the State, and of the Priest to the Church, while that of the Sage was to the individual, the Prophet and the Sage, who dealt with social and personal character, would be sympathetic with each other and would work together, while both would be suspicious of the Priest, whose business was with mere externals, forms, ceremonies, ritual which at first were expressions of the religious life but which later became substitutes for it. The Prophet and the Sage helped each other, worked hand in hand. When the Prophet pictured the Messiah, he pictured Him as a Sage. "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of His root shall bear fruit. And the spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah." The Prophet made free and full use of the Sage's material. "To obey is better than to sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams," is pure wisdom in form and content. The Sage's system of psychology is back of Elijah's prayer, "Let this child's soul come into him again," and an entire cosmogony back of Jonah's declaration that he was of Israel and that God made the sea and the dry land. Jotham's fable and the parable with which Nathan brought David to his knees were wisdom in form as well as substance. Indeed, almost every prophet appropriated more or less of the Sage's thought.

Their literary forms: Among all primitive peoples, poetry, which is the mother-tongue of thought, marks the beginning of literature. The reason of this is that rhythm helps the memory, and literature in its initial stage depends upon memory for transmission. The

wise men used this form even in their latest productions, which smell of the lamp. It is necessary to keep in mind that Hebrew poetry is characterized by rhythm of thought rather than sound. The basis of it is two parallel lines. These may be synonymous, expressing identically the same thought, for example:

"How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed,
"How shall I defy whom the Lord hath not defied;"

or expressing similar thought, as:

"Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
"And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies."

(Joshua 10:12–13.)

The second form of poetry is antithetic, in which the second line is set over against the first:

"A wise son maketh a glad father,
"But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother."

The third form is synthetic, in which the second line adds something to the first or makes comparison with it:

"Better is a dinner of herbs where love is
Than a stalled ox and hatred therewith."

"Answer not a fool according to his folly
Lest thou also be like unto him."

The special forms employed by the sages are the similitude, "Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord," the riddle, such as Samson's,

"Out of the eater came forth food
And out of the strong came forth sweetness."

This illustrates the use of the riddle in social life. Samson was entertaining his friends at a seven-days' feast on the occasion of his wedding (Judges 14:10–18).

One of the oldest pieces of wisdom literature in the Old Testament is Jotham's fable, where he rebukes the men of Shechem for going by him to select a king, with the story of the trees that went forth on a time to anoint a king over them (Judges 9:7 f.) Not less powerful is the parable, such as Nathan's story of the ewe lamb. We are all familiar with the simple proverb still current among us:

> "The fathers have eaten sour grapes,
> And the children's teeth are set on edge."

One of the oldest paradoxes is the one just quoted, "Answer not a fool according to his folly." The splendid Gnomic essay on wisdom in the early chapters of Proverbs, and the description of the drunkard are fine examples of still another wisdom form.

The didactic drama, such as the Song of Songs, the philosophic drama of Job, the philosophic homily of Ecclesiastes, and personification, in the early chapters of Proverbs, examplify for us their more developed literary forms.

The scope of their thought-world: Every race and every individual alike creates his own peculiar thought-world, according to personal and racial equation. The Semite had a world all his own. There were certain unique elements in his make-up. He has been characterized by "a yearning after dreamy ease," "a strange and ever-present shiftlessness, a striking combination of pliability with iron fixity, a spirit of unity and simplicity which made combination and complexity impossible." He had a sort of idealism that controlled life and thought and determined his religion, for it put a sort of halo over and around all things. The Aryan, on the other hand, has strength, vigor, accuracy,

discrimination, which produce science, art, law, organization, the epic, the drama, and philosophy. The Semite, being without these intellectual elements, has given us no epic poetry, science, developed philosophy, real fiction, and no strict governmental organization. He had depth and force of character, capacity for work, and vivid imagination that gave religious intensity. Their idealism developed the Prophets, who have not appeared fully developed outside the Semites, and together with their "yearning after dreamy ease," explains their pictures of the future, their temple worship, and their widely scattered synagogues.

Wisdom took a wide range. It covered not only their rudimentary philosophy, but all that passed for science. Solomon is reputed to have known something of horticulture, agriculture, botany, natural history, law, government, as well as practical ethics. The prophets were idealists, the Priests ritualists, the Sages utilitarians. They were concerned with the things of today, and had so little eye for tomorrow that they say nothing of Israel's ancient hope, the Messiah. In politics, the Prophets were progressives, insurgents even, the Priests, standpatters, and the Sages were independents.

The first division of their thought realm was the world plan. Their cosmogony is preserved for us in Genesis. The earth there is a flat surface resting on pillars below, yet floating, so to speak, on the waters of the great deep, whose fountains sprang up through crevices in the earth. Above was the firmament of Heaven, a fixed dome, and still above it were the upper floods which poured down when the windows of the firmanent were opened. Still above these upper floods was the throne of God, from which everything that is and that is coming to pass, is brought about by direct exercise of will, without the intervention of intermediate causes. The second division of their thought realm was the art of practical living, the way to get on in the world.

The third division was the special problems of life. They asked three questions; first, What are the laws of the universe, that I may bring myself into harmony with the world plan; second, What are the laws of life, that I may know how to live; third, What are the problems of life, and what their solution, that I may live intelligently.

Outside wisdom: The Jew came in contact with all the peoples of the ancient world. The blood of almost every race flows through his veins, and the thought of every people probably influenced him more or less. The Sages, coming in the later periods of Hebrew and Jewish history, had the advantage of the manifold and multiform experiences through which their fathers had come. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the Old Testament relics of outside wisdom, for all peoples have had their wise. The Proverbial literature of Egypt and Arabia is still extant. The architect of Solomon's temple, whose name is forgotten, was a Tyrian. Balaam was a Sage, Job an Arabian Sheik. The book of Job contains a large foreign element. The warhorse is an Arabian steed, the hippopotamus is Egyptian, the very language is different from the Hebrew of any other book, containing many words not found elsewhere, influenced very largely by Arabic and Aramaic. Greek influence on the wisdom literature seems to have been strong. The period of the development of Greek philosophy was synchronous with that of the Hebrew. The epoch reaching from 600 to 250 B. C. marked the philosophical awakening and growth of both peoples. What a pity that while the names of the seven wise men of Greece and their successors are preserved to us, those of almost all in Israel are forever lost. The fact that there was no particular proprietary right in authorship among the Semites is not without its value, in that ideas, rather than individuals, were then, as they are now, the real rulers of the world; yet nothing can repay us for the loss

of the names and careers of the authors of Job, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Solomon, to say nothing of scores of others who helped to produce the literature of the Old Testament.

While the development of Greek and Hebrew Philosophy were contemporaneous, they are of two wholly different types. The Greek went up the stream of being so to speak, in search of God at its source. The Hebrew started with God at the source, went down stream finding Him everywhere. The Greek took the whole of things and tried to analyze them, which process resulted in a God without a world, and a world without a God; the Hebrew conceived the whole of things as vitally in touch with and immediately created and controlled by God, who was everywhere unavoidable. The Greek was coldly intellectual; the Hebrew passionately religous. The Greek philosophy was a carefully wrought out system; the Hebrew a deeply lived-out experience. He showed:

> That "life is not as idle ore,
> But iron dug from central gloom,
> And heated hot with burning fears,
> And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
> And battered with the shock of doom
> To shape and use."

To him everything was personal, even the thunder was God's voice, and Nature but the mantle he drew around him.

These men of old swept the whole horizon of practical every-day interests and preached for the first time a cosmopolitanism that came to its fulness in Jesus of Nazareth. They were the humanists of Israel and their ideals were fully and finally realized in Him who spake as never man spake. Their methods were perfected by Him. The wisdom of Proverbs is the Logos of the prologue of John's Gospel. These three great movements

began with one man, who was Prophet, Priest and Sage, for Samuel was all these; each movement completed its final cycle in Jesus, who grew in wisdom, increased in power as a prophet, and enriched and fulfilled the world's noblest ideal of Priest.

"Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the name
Of Him that made them current coin;

For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,
Where truth in closest words shall fail,
When truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought;

Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
And those wild eyes that watch the wave
In roarings round the coral reef."

II

JOB: Providence and Pain (500 B. C.?).

In order to understand Job, it is necessary to recall the doctrine of suffering prevailing in Israel before his time. It was held that suffering is not the work of some superhuman power hostile to God, but came into the world because the first man disobeyed. It is in the world with God's permission and is made use of by Him in His dealings with individuals and nations; it is a club with which He punishes. When a man sins, be he peas-

ant or king, he must suffer because of his sin. No man ever sinned and escaped. Forgiveness does not rid us of penalty. When a nation sins, it must suffer. On the other hand, suffering is proof of sin; great suffering, of great sin. Slight suffering is often sent to attract the notice of the sinner and turn him from his sin; another, and another, may follow; if unheeded, severe affliction comes. So that affliction involves social disgrace. What consolation is offered by the prophet to the sufferer? No immediate relief is given except the assurance that later all will be right. The prophetic remedy is idealization. The prophet lives in the future, yet he never comforts with promises of another life. He either did not know anything of the hereafter or for some reason undivulged he made no use of it. The future beyond the grave, so far as he knew, was dark. Sheol was no consolation. There the small and the great, the young and the old, the good and the bad, disembodied, dragged out in a dismal cavern in the bowels of the earth a forlorn semi-conscious existence in which even God was forgotten. The prophet himself begged God not to let him die, because he could not praise God in Sheol, and God wanted praise. How did the men of those days support their faith in God? The opening cry of the 22d Psalm is a suggestion or the answer: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This was the keynote of the hour. These words breathe at once an ineradical belief in God and an almost absolute despair. The great minds of the period were struggling with the problem, which had been terribly intensified and mystified by the fall of Josiah. Deuteronomy had promised that if the people would be good they would prosper. Josiah had done his best to enforce the law of Deuteronomy and make himself and his people holy, and yet in the height of his glory he went down trailing trouble for the nation after him. Only a little while, and the captivity came, with all its

horrors. The people were ruthlessly torn from their homes, the graves of their loved ones, the places made holy by ancient traditions, from their Temple in which alone they had been taught they could worship God acceptably; torn away from everything the human spirit holds dear, and dragged a thousand miles away to be subject to an alien power. And it was not the wicked who suffered most. The politicians had made the trouble. The rank and file of the people, many of them, were doing their best and were not conscious of sin great enough to warrant such a calamity. Many of the leaders were flourishing, because they were glad to make terms with the Government, having no principle at stake. The devout and loyal souls who were innocent were the ones upon whom the blow fell. They could not understand; they were dazed. The 53d chapter of Isaiah had set forth gloriously the doctrine that, after all, the innocent do suffer for the sake of those who came after. I can imagine the author of the Book of Job and the author of the 53d Chapter of Isaiah taking a walk together. The author of Job said to the author of this other great poem, "You have given us a great book, but is there no other word to be said? Is there no relief available now for those in the bitter throes of agony?" The author of Isaiah, seeing the point, replied, "Try your hand." And this broken-hearted sage dipped his pen in his own heart's blood and set out to save himself and his suffering people. He presents first in the prologue:

The Conflict of Faith with the Facts of Life (Ch. 1–2).

He takes an ancient folk story in prose and splits it in two and fits his poem in the middle. This ancient folk story gives a beautiful picture of an ancient Arabian Sheik, happy, with plenty, in the bosom of a large and joyous family. There was not a care, not a fleck on the sky anywhere; there was nothing to do but to go on a ceaseless round of feasting and rejoicing, beginning the

first day of each week in the eldest brother's house. That every possibility of the least sin which might incur trouble should be removed, the father required each child to take a bath, change his clothes, and he offered sacrifice for them all, lest they might have unwittingly renounced God during the previous week. Meanwhile, a convention of the officers of the universe assembles. The Satan whose office was to test the pretentions of men, he being a sort of incarnation of the testing processes of life, a kind of sifting providence, appeared among the other officers with whom he properly belonged, to give a report of his work. His experience had made him a cynic, and to cure his cynicism, Jehovah asks him whether he has considered the peerless Job. The Satan replied that he had, that Job was well paid for his piety, in that he and his home were hedged about by such splendid rewards. He was not serving God for naught; only touch what he has, and he will tell you goodbye. In order to vindicate Job, apparently, the Satan is given permission to take all, but forbidden to touch his person. Job, though considered perfect by God, is being played for like a pawn, but knows nothing. On the very day on which sacrifice had removed every vestige of possible sin, society, exemplified in the Sabeans and the Chaldeans, combined with Nature in the form of lighting and cyclone to pelt the Sheik with alternate strokes until nothing was left. Job had received the news sitting, then rose, rent his tunic to symbolize his broken heart, shaved his head to remove the last remnant of ornament, put his forehead in the dust, symbolizing devout submission, and said: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; Jehovah gave, and Jehovah hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jehovah."

A second convention of the officers of the universe assembles. Yahweh asks the Satan for a report on Job, at the same time pronouncing him perfect and upright,

the best man on earth (he had been the richest man in the East). The Satan replied that he had, and that his only mistake was in supposing he prized family and wealth most; it was really his health; take that, and he will tell you goodbye. That vindication may be complete, Job is given into his hands, but life must be spared. There is an inmost area in us all, where the protection of Providence is absolute, so long as we are loyal. Job becomes a leper, banished to the garbage heap without the gates, forsaken by God and man. Even the wife of his bosom begs him to renounce God and die, whether by suicide is not certain. His answer to it all was, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" He pays splendid homage in pain to the absoluteness of Yahweh, which was then thought to be the highest type of religion.

Months pass; reports of the awful tragedy spread. Princely friends of the fallen Sheik come by appointment to comfort him. They sit down, in tears, with him for seven days, the period of mourning, their garments torn to symbolize their grief; after which, seeing in their faces deep suspicion, he boils over. He had hitherto agreed with them in the conviction that there was a mathematical relation between sin and suffering; so much sin brings so much suffering, so much suffering argues so much sin. But he had not committed sins great enough to warrant the suffering now inflicted on him. Here was a conflict between faith and the facts of life.

The First Cycle of Speeches (Ch. 4–14.)

The Fight for the Freedom to Think

These three friends represent three sources of authority in religion. Eliphaz, the oldest, is intellectual, calm, dignified, godly; a man of strong religious prejudices, something of a Puritan and a mystic. Though

kind of heart, he is rather cold in his bearing, a lecturer rather than a comforter. He gives experiences and warnings, representing the prophet, and speaking what he has received by revelation. The scene in the 4th Chapter describing his vision has been called the most wierd passage in the literature of the world. The second friend, Bildad, represents tradition, the wisdom of the ancient sages. He is ready to rest his case, finally, upon the conclusions of the thoughtful of all times. Precedent is with him the last word. He thinks what is new is not true, and what is true is not new. He is a philosopher and an observer of men and things. His universe is fixed rather than fluid, a crystal rather than a stream. Zophar, the third of the friends, represents common sense. He is a practical layman of strong conviction and lives by his convictions. He is intolerant, somewhat arrogant, superficial, wordy. He is not concerned so much with religion as such, or with theological discussions, as he is with bringing things to pass according to the dictates of the native instincts. Job represents the independent thinker of the exilic and early post-exilic period. He symbolizes, in a way, the chosen people in the midst of their calamity. The problem is a soul, rather than a subject—a soul overwhelmed and in search of the way out. All three friends, as well as Job, were ignorant of secondary causes. All that was done in ancient times was done by God, whether it was good or bad. Job differs with them now only in his consciousness of innocence, which had been attested even in Heaven, although he does not know it.

Seeing in the faces of his friends deep suspicion, he curses his birthday, lamenting that he had not been stillborn, if he had to be born at all, and now longing for death. He catches a glimpse of the semi-conscious rest in Sheol and quiets for a moment, then bursts out again, insinuating things against God. He is thus revealed a heretic, and must be brought back to right thinking.

So, in the first round, the speeches appeal to Job's intellect, pleading the character of God. Eliphaz sets forth His purity, His transcendence, His goodness; Bildad, His discriminating justice; Zophar, His insight.

Eliphaz opens the debate. He is surprised that Job, who has comforted others, is now himself giving way under grief. His integrity should be his confidence. The innocent never *perish* under affliction; only the wicked are destroyed like beasts of prey. He has had a vision which revealed to him the unapproachable purity of God in contrast with the imperfections of all His creatures. These imperfections breed sin and sin brings trouble, to which man is, therefore, born, as the sparks fly upward. The thing to do is not to murmur, which is very dangerous, but to turn to God, whose ways are wonderful, whose power is great, whose purpose is only to do good, and whose chastenings bring richer blessings.

Job, in reply, is surprised that his calamity is not weighed with his complaint. The arrows of the Almighty have stuck in him. Men reason from the cry of beasts to their suffering, so his outcries should have argued his anguish. He passes into a momentary frenzy. Meeting the suggestion of Eliphaz about perishing, he longs for death as his utmost consolation. He cannot stand it much longer, and why should he? Even his friends, from whom he had a right to expect help, have taken sides against him because they were afraid of God. He had asked nothing from them but sympathy. He demands to be shown the sins at which they are hinting. Some other explanation must be found than his guilt. He was capable of saying whether his calamities were deserved, and he would not lie. All his troubles are but a part of the common human lot of misery and helplessness. He will, therefore, speak his mind. Turning to God, he demands to know whether God is treating him so because He is afraid of him. Is he dangerous to the Universe, like a sea or a sea-monster, that has to be watched

and subdued? He loathes life. Is not man too mean a thing for God to give so much attention to him? Is such conduct not unworthy of God? If he has sinned, what business is it of God's; why does He not take away his sin? You will yet seek me, and it may be too late.

Bildad ignores Job's defense and assault upon his friends, and takes up Job's claim to be right against God and his assertion that the race is in the cruel grip of force. He contends for the discriminating rectitude of God, shown both in the punishing of sin and the rewarding of righteousness. Job's children had received, he hints, only their due, and their father will be restored to even greater prosperity, if he will only seek God. The wisdom of the ancients, which is our highest authority, shows how rapid and complete the downfall of the wicked is. God will not cast away the perfect man. He will fill Job's mouth with laughing, while his haters, who are wicked, shall be undone.

But how, sneers Job, can a man be righteous with God, with whom might is right, who is irresistible, unaccountable, unapproachable, irresponsible, incomprehensible, perverse even? He would listen to nobody, reveal Himself to nobody. Even if He should reveal himself to Job, he could not believe that it was He. "Even if I were perfect, he would prove me perverse." He dares to say it: "I am perfect, yet I am held guilty." There can be no trial, for there is no arbiter. Let Him take His rod away from me and give me a chance to answer. He then tries to find what, in the Divine nature, can explain his trouble and sufferings. He pleads to God not to make him guilty by mere arbitrary will. Do you do it, he asks, because you enjoy it, or are you making a mistake, or are you afraid you are going to die before you get me? You made me and you have been kind. Did you expend all your skill on me, in order the more effectively to plague me? Why did you give me existence at all? Was all your former goodness only concealed

malignity? Let me alone, and give me a little comfort before I plunge into the night.

Job has boldly declared his innocence in the face of afflictions which prove him guilty. Zophar would, therefore, have God, who is omniscient, speak as Job wishes. Then the sufferer would become aware of the sins that cause his sufferings.

"Canst thou by searching find out God?
Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?

He is high as heaven; what canst thou do?
Deeper than Sheol; what canst thou know?

The measure thereof is longer than the earth,
And broader than the sea."

This incomprehensible wisdom detects men's hidden sins, which cause sudden calamities. Job, should, therefore, put away evil and unclouded happiness will follow.

Zophar has made it plain that the omniscient wisdom of God condemns Job as a sinner, and men, who are hollow, should therefore be silent. The friends were, of course, right, Job answers. Wisdom would die with them, but he knows as much about the Divine wisdom and power as they do. They have the advantage of him, only because pain makes him helpless. Everybody knows that God sways His creatures with absolute power, in nature and society, alike. No moral distinctions in Him are apparent. The friends do not understand. Silence would be golden for them. He desires to plead his cause before God, and will go before him, let come what may.

"Behold, he will slay me; I have no hope:
"Nevertheless I will maintain my ways before him."

His courage is at the full, because he is now established in the consciousness of innocence, though aware of the

sins of his youth. He asks to be shown what his iniquities are. Will God harass a driven leaf? He is wasting away like a moth-eaten garment. Man that is born of woman is of few days and full of trouble. None are clean. Since his days are fixed, he pleads for a little respite, a little rest. There is hope for a tree, which, if cut down, will sprout again, but none for man, for whom there is no awakening. Sinking into the depths, his soul revolts from the blackness of utter despair and he asks whether, after all, we may not live again, whether God will not yet claim, in another realm, the work of His own hands. He pursues, eagerly, that beautiful phantom for a moment, driven on by the instinctive demands of his inmost self, with a prayer that he might be hidden in Sheol until God's wrath be overpast. He has now lost fellowship with God, but his malady will pass, though God's anger pursue him to the grave. There is no hope for him on this side. He longs to remain in Sheol until he shall be called back into the Divine fellowship, with a complete return to life again, only to fall back once more into the dark.

The first cycle of speeches starts with Job's complaint, in Chapter 3, making insinuations against God. Each of the friends appeals to Job's intellect, in an effort to bring him back to right thinking about God, the first pleading Divine purity and universal goodness, the second, His discriminating rectitude, the third, His onmiscient insight. Each closes with an exhortation to return to God and all will be well. Job's answer is that their arguments do not fit his case. He does not need to be taught about God; he knows as much as any of them. He does not need to be exhorted to go to God; that is just what he most desires. He even challenges God to a trial of his case. He speaks unreservedly and fearlessly his whole mind, and, in the face of all odds, wins for himself the freedom to think.

The Second Cycle of Speeches (Ch. 15 to 21)

The Fight for Freedom of Conscience

The friends have utterly failed to correct Job's heresy. All their arrows have missed the mark. His passionate declarations of innocence and his irreverent speeches convince them that the trouble is not intellectual, but moral. They have given all they know about the attributes of God, in answer to which, they have received not only a violent personal attack from him, but also a bold challenge to God Himself. They are shocked. His behavior explains all; yet greater danger was imminent. This is but another example of the fate that befalls the wicked. Their thoughts now turn from heaven to earth, from God to man. Job's conscience must be aroused. He realizes, for the first time, his true position, his utter desolation. Man and God, alike, hold him guilty. The friends draw closer around Job, painting alarming pictures of the disasters that befall the wicked, silently saying, "Thou art the man." He must now fight for freedom of conscience.

Eliphaz takes the lead, insinuating that Job is a windbag. His wild talk is not only unprofitable; it is dangerous.

> "Yea, thou doest away with fear,
> And hinderest devotion before God."

Young people must not have such suggestions made to them. Old people must not be disturbed. Even if true, it is dangerous. Like Socrates he would corrupt youth. Like Jesus he would lead the people astray. Like a modern scholar alive in the modern world he would upset things. The hazard of the nonconformist was too great. Even if he had opinions of his own, he must keep still. But his own words condemn him. Was he the first man born? Are the consolations of God too small for him? Eliphaz is deeply wounded at the treatment he,

an aged and dignified counsellor, has received. Job's speech is destructive of all godliness. How can a man that is born of woman be righteous? If there were any other way to be born, he might have a chance. Even the heavens are not clean, much less, man. In consequence of this uncleanness, there are three vanities written upon the achievements of the wicked: Dissatisfaction in enjoyment—the sound of terrors is in his ears; uncertainty in possession—in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him; disappointment in pursuit—for vanity shall be his recompense.

Job now realizes that not only must he bear the enmity of God, under which he staggered in the first cycle, but also the universal alienation of mankind. He is stamped a hypocrite by the world of his day, disgraced, because his sufferings have proved him such. He is alone, and yearns for sympathy. The awfulness of the isolation crushes him. He has nothing left but his own consciousness of innocence, to which he clings all the more desperately. He will never be vindicated in this life. His fate is that of a martyr.

> "Yet, right is right, since God is God.
> And right the day must win."

His vindication would, therefore, finally come, even at the hands of God Himself. Men are mocking him, but he lifts his tear-stained face to heaven, begging for a pledge, even here, that hereafter his name shall be cleared up. He begins his reply with an expression of weariness of his friends' meaningless speeches. "If your soul were in my soul's stead, I could join words together against you, and shake my head at you." He flings back, with scorn, the consolations of God they have been offering him. He hardly knows whether to speak or not. He staggers on with complaints to God, about God, who has made desolate all his company, and about his friends, who have gathered themselves together against

him and to whose jeers God has delivered him. God, Himself, is dashing him to pieces. He pours out his tears unto God, begging that a man's right with Him and against men, be upheld and a pledge be given that his character will yet be cleared. He repudiates the hope offered by his friends of restoration in this life, looking only for the grave. Then, rising to supernal heights, he declares magnificently, in the face of all the moral wrongs prevailing in God's rule of the world and in men's dealings with each other, yet shall the righteous hold on his way and he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger. But as for him, his purposes were broken off, and only the dark awaits him.

Eliphaz had interpreted punishment in terms of terrors of the guilty. Consequently, Bildad, in order to arouse those terrors, attributes punishment to the order of nature and the moral instinct of mankind, both of which are against the sinner. He arraigns Job for counting them, his friends, as beasts: God had not torn him; he was tearing himself. Does Job expect a miracle to be wrought for his sake? The whole universe is against the wrongdoer; he is trapped, everywhere he turns. The terrors that overtook Job are so graphically described as to be unmistakable, though given in general terms: Job's leprosy, the brimstone that burned up his property, the tree withered from the roots up, the horror and devastation of man, finally chasing him out of the world—all these are saying, "This is the place of him that knoweth not God; this is the fate, Job, that awaits you."

Job feels the sting and repudiates the inferences the friends are drawing from his calamities, which are due to God, alone, the author of his present terrible fate. God has deserted him utterly, so have all his servants and intimates, so has everybody else; even little children mock him. Sinking to the lowest deeps of degradation and despair, he suddenly leaps to the assurance that God

will yet appear to vindicate him, and that his eyes shall see Him on his side.

"But as for me I know that my Vindicator liveth,
"And at last he will stand up upon the earth."

"And after my skin, even this body, is destroyed,
"Then without my flesh shall I see God;"

"Whom I, even I, shall see, on my side,
"And mine eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger."

He faints, in contemplation of this glorious outcome. Consciousness returning, he warns his friends.

Zophar is stirred into fiery indignation, and hastens to rebuff Job's attack upon them and his appealing from them to posterity, threatening them with Divine punishment. He had accused God of wronging him, shockingly, and yet this same God was to be his final Vindicator. Bildad had emphasized the certainty of the sinner's downfall under the automatic action of moral law, which rises up against sin. Zophar emphasizes the brevity of his prosperity and the reflex action of sin, bringing its own punishment. Sin, which is sweet in the mouth, turns to the poison of asps in the stomach. The achievements of the wicked, he shows now, as Eliphaz did, to be subject to three vanities: Dissatisfaction in enjoyment—his meat is the gall of asps within him, uncertainty in possession—that which he labored for shall he restore, a fire not blown by hands shall consume him; disappointment in pursuit—when he is about to fill his belly, God will cast the fierceness of His wrath upon him. This powerful picture of dire distress, like that painted by Bildad, says to Job, "Thou art the man."

Job, at the beginning of the first round, was so busy with thoughts of God as to be unable to take up, consecutively, the arguments of the friends. In the second, he is busy with thoughts of God's terrifying wrongs done

him, and not until the third catalogue of horrors makes its pointed appeal to his conscience does he come to himself. "There is much humanity in Job, and his mind moves by preference in the region of human feelins, the rights of the wretched, the claims of sentient life, the mysteries of human existence and the riddles of the world, and it is unwillingly that he descends from this region into the arena of disputation. It is only the corrosive language of Zophar that awakens him on each occasion to the particular meaning of his friends' addresses. Both times his challenge brings Job into the field, the first time with all the bitterness of sarcasm (Ch. xii.), and now with the trenchant force of an argument from facts."

Eliphaz had offered Job the consolations of God. Job replies that the consolation he wants is that they shall listen to him until he has had his say, and then mock on if they like. The facts are all against them. The wicked are prosperous; their seed is established with all good things. It is no answer to say that God will heap up his iniquity for his children; that is not a square deal. Why should they be wiser than God? Character does not determine fortune. Why attribute to God what He does not do? The pictures you have drawn to arouse me are not true; history denies them all. Anybody who has travelled could tell them better.

In the first round, the friends failed to reach Job's heresy because he showed that their arguments did not fit his case, and he won the freedom to think for himself. They failed to reach him in the second round, because he flatly contradicted their interpretation of God's providence in the world, proving his contention from the facts of human experience. Even if those facts were true, they would not fit his case, for he was more conscious now than ever of his own personal integrity. His conscience is in his own keeping. He has won its freedom. The friends must, therefore, seek still another

approach to him. There is but one thing left. They close in upon him with definite charges of specific sins.

The Third Cycle of Speeches (Ch. 22 to 31)

The Triumph of Conscious Integrity

Eliphaz opens with the assertion that a man's righteousness is no gain, wickedness no loss, to God. The cause of their experiences is, therefore, to be sought in themselves. Suffering could not be due to piety; it must be due to sin. He then catalogues such sins as a powerful, irresponsible, rich sheik of that day would be expected to commit, and these things were done because Job supposed God to be in the heights of heaven and that He did not know. He again exhorts Job to be reconciled to God, with the promise of peace and prosperity.

Job, in reply, wishes he knew where he might find God. He would plead his cause before him.

"Behold, I go forward, but he is not there;
And backward, but I cannot perceive him;
On the left hand, when he doth work, but I cannot behold him;
He hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him.
But he knoweth the way that I take."

He eludes me, because He knows that, if tried, I would come forth as gold. He is determined to destroy me. He is unapproachable, irresponsible; might, with him, is right. I am, therefore, terrified at His presence. Why does He not have judgment tribunals, where the wrongs of the world can be righted? His picture, here, of destitution and misery is pitiably pathetic. His description of social wrongs is telling. Where is God in it all? He gives two answers: First, that of the friends, perhaps ironically (18 to 31). He follows that with a true picture

as he sees it, closing with, "And if it be not so, now, who will prove me a liar?" He has won against his friends, but is himself left with the problem of an unrighteous God on his hands.

Bildad is unable to controvert the facts of experience presented by Job, and so makes his last argument, before retiring from the field, for a right attitude of humility and reverence toward God. Whatever the facts of history may be, such arrogance as Job's is to be condemned, and the dominion and the purity of God, in contrast with the littleness of man, must hold sway over us.

Job, in reply, outdoes Bildad in magnifying the greatness of God. He begins with scathing sarcasm at Bildad's irrelevant talk, asking how all that helps him that is without power. It is not the question of the greatness of God, but of His justice that is troublesome. The material in the third cycle is badly dislocated. It is assigned to wrong speakers. Rearrangement is very difficult.

Zophar does not come back. He represents common sense, which is usually the first to give down in a religious discussion.

The next two chapters present serious difficulties. As they are arranged, Job seems, in chapter 27, to contradict the position he has hitherto held. Chapter 28, which is a beautiful ode to Wisdom, has no apparent connection with the context. In Chaper 29, Job gives a sorrowful retrospect of his character and history, in which he draws a telling picture of the ideal old man, his personal religious life and character, his family relationships, his position of service in the community, and particularly in the government, and his general influence in society. They waited for him as for the rain. This is contrasted with his present abject condition. He closes with a solemn oath, denying all types of wickedness that would account for this contrast, and yearning, mean-

while, for God to answer him and clear up his confusions.

The last attack has failed. There is no more the friends can say, and Job rises high over all, like a towering mountain over the lifting mists, supreme in the consciousness of his personal integrity. He has won the right to think for himself and to be the keeper of his own conscience. His questions are not yet answered, but though in the grip of anguish, he is greater than anything men, or his condition, might say about him.

The Elihu Speeches

Tradition's Last Word (Ch. 31 to 37)

We come, here, upon another literary difficulty. The speeches of Elihu make little contribution and are thought, by some, to have been added by a later hand. As given in the text, he listens to the debate in silence until its end, and then begins with an apology for speaking, in view of his youth, but saying that he is compelled to speak or he would "burst." Angry, he attacks, first, the friends for their failure, and then Job, making four speeches.

In the first, he upbraids Job for complaining that God will not answer him. God answers men in several ways—by dreams and visions, by illness and by angels.

Secondly, Job's charge that God has defrauded him of his right is untrue. God can do no wrong; injustice in the Ruler of the Universe is inconceivable. Job has spoken without wisdom. Let his trial continue until his rebellion is subdued.

Thirdly, Job's complaint that righteousness does not profit more than sin is not true. Neither affects God, who is exalted above all. Their effects, must, therefore, be found among men. The exceptions can be explained.

Fourthly, Elihu presents the disciplinary value of afflictions, and closes with a description of the greatness,

wisdom and unsearchableness of God, apparent, particularly, in the heavens above.

A terrific storm is gathering. Darkness is settling down upon the face of all the earth. He comments upon the clouds, the raindrops, the thunder claps, the lightning, the sudden fall in temperature, the wind, the darkness, the golden splendor of the north, until he slinks down, frightened into silence by the fury of the gathering storm. Tradition has uttered its last word. Job is there, with nothing more to say, perplexed, groping and yearning, but unafraid.

The Answer Out of the Storm (Ch. 38–42:6)

Through Nature to God

Job must find peace, somehow, but not by the methods hitherto followed. He has fought his way to freedom. How shall that freedom be made to thrill with joy? He has not fulfilled the prediction of the Satan and bidden goodbye to God, but has not yet found Him in any satisfying sense. Hence the answer from God, for which he had so passionately cried, comes in the form of a theophany out of the whirlwind, with the initial demand:

> "Who is this that darkeneth counsel
> By words without knowledge?
> Gird up now thy loins like a man;
> For I will demand of thee, and answer thou me."

Then follows a magnificent panorama of nature, animate and inanimate, of things in the sky and on the earth. Were you at the laying of the foundations of the earth? Who laid the corner stone, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy? Who shut up the sea, staying its proud waves? Have you been commanding the morning? Have you visited the springs of the sea? Walked in the recesses of the deep? Entered the gates of death? Have you measured the breadth

of the earth? What is the way to the home of light and darkness? Doubtless you know, since you were their contemporary. Have you entered the treasures of snow and hail, which I have reserved to do battle with? Have you gone over the paths of light and wind? Who has hewed out a channel for the torrential rain and the lightning? Hath the rain a father, or the dew? The ice and the frost a mother? Have you loosed the constellations, and led them in their courses? Do you know the law of their government? Do you command the clouds and the lightning? Do you understand the clouds that pour out revivifying rains? Who feeds the lion and the raven? Do you know the wild goat's travail, or the hind's? Who has given the wild ass his freedom, to scorn the city and range the mountains? Can you make the wild ox your servant? The ostrich, though cruel and careless, yet outdistances the horse and his rider. Have you made the war horse to leap like a locust, with terrible snorting, undismayed, into the fury of the battle? Did you give wisdom to the hawk to migrate southward; or to the eagle to soar to the crags, whence she searches out prey for her young?

Again, the voice out of the whirlwind demands:

"Shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty?
He that argueth with God, let him answer it."

Job replies,

"Behold, I am of small account,
What shall I answer thee
I will lay my hand upon my mouth.
Once have I spoken; but I will not answer:
Yea, twice; but I will proceed no further."

And the voice continues:

"Gird up thy loins now like a man:
I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me."

Will you condemn me to justify yourself? Do you think you could govern the world according to your conception of righteousness, bringing down the wicked and the proud? Could you take my place and answer your own questions? Job is then invited to try his hand in managing the hippopotamus and the crocodile, both of which are described after the manner of Arabian poetry, in tiresome detail. If he cannot manage these, how could he govern the world?

Job replies,

"I know that thou canst do all things,
And that no purpose of thine can be restrained."

Then the words of the Almighty echo through his own soul:

"Who is he that hideth counsel
Without knowledge?
Therefore have I uttered that I understood not;
Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not."

He echoes again the words of the Almighty:

"Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak:
I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me,"

and gives his final response, which is the climax of the poem,

"I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear:
But now mine eye seeth thee.
Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent
In dust and ashes."

The drama is over. Job has not yet been told anything about the story of the Prologue. He does not know that not only on earth, by the wife of his bosom, who knew him best, but in heaven, by God Himself, his integrity has been passed upon and approved. Why did not the

drama end by telling him? The initial movement started with an insinuation against him by the Satan. He is now vindicated, but knows nothing. If he had been told, he would have been lifted above the conditions under which the tragic victims of outrageous fortune are condemned to fight their battles in the dark.

The book moves to the end in the realm of ordinary human experience. How, then, does it answer the bitter cries of broken hearts, who, in perplexed anguish, have lost their way? There are three answers given:

First: In reply to the question, "What have we done, that God should treat us so?" the Book answers, "Nothing." We are all entangled in the common human lot with society on the one hand, typified by the Sabeans and the Chaldeans, and with nature, typified by the lightning, the cyclone and the leprosy of Job, on the other. Since we are mixed up with people, the innocent are liable to suffer. My business and social relationships may be such that I am robbed and ruined, for no fault of mine. Indeed, I am but a dead man, warmed over, with ten thousand forces delivering the product of their struggles for countless thousands of years into my soul and body. My next door neighbor may have diphtheria and all my children die, for no fault of mine. I am in a world where innumerable forces of nature have their play, and may go down in a Titanic, or be hurled into atoms by earthquake, fire, flood or storm, without the slightest tinge of sin. Sin usually causes suffering, but there are other sources of suffering also.

The second answer given is that an effective way of dealing with our problems is to view them in the light of the whole vast range of things. They shrivel up into nothing in the perspective of infinity. President Arthur Schuster closed his address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1915 with this story:

"An American friend, who possessed a powerful

telescope, one night received the visit of an ardent politician. It was the time of a Presidential election, Bryan and Taft being the opposing candidates, and feeling ran high. After looking at clusters of stars and other celestial objects, and having received answers to his various questions the visitor turned to my friend:

'And all these stars I see,' he asked, 'what space in the heaven do they occupy?'

'About the area of the moon.'

'And you tell me that every one of them is a sun like our own?'

'Yes.'

'And that each of them may have a number of planets circulating round them like our sun?'

'Yes.'

'And that there may be life on each of these planets?'

'We cannot tell that, but it is quite possible that there may be life on many of them.'

And after pondering for some time, the politician rose and said: 'It does not matter after all whether Taft or Bryan gets in.'"

He whose attention is diverted from the little world where personal calamity crushes to the limitless areas of large interests, where life is seen whole and seen steadily, will gain wonderful peace.

Thirdly: God, after all, answers our deepest questions, not in the region of cold intellect, but by flooding the lower deeps of the religious life with the satisfying sense of Himself. Job, driven like a quivering leaf over the shifting centers of life's raging storms, comes to complete self-surrender in taking the last step, the step that left the world with its problems and perplexities, its rewards and punishments, its threats and promises, its ease and its pain, a vanishing quantity far behind, and brought him into inmost reality, where all our enigmas are solved, where all the confusions and entanglements and con-

tradictions of life have their deeper meaning unveiled, where the strength of the universe enters our souls, where our baffled and broken purposes find fulfillment, where the voice of the heart's anguish is hushed,—the region of eternal truth, eternal rest, eternal peace. He reached this region through nature whose panorama revealed to him the presence and power, the wisdom and goodness, the patience and care, of Exhaustless Love that keeps watch over its own. Job knows little more now than he knew at the beginning, but he has met God face to face, and although he does not know much more about Him, he knows Him. He can now say, with Saul:

There-were witnesses, cohorts about me, to left and to right,
Angels, powers, the unuttered, unseen, the alive, the aware:
I repressed, I got through them as hardly, as strugglingly there,
As a runner beset by the populace famished for news—
Life or death. The whole earth was wakened, hell loosed with her crews;
And the stars of night beat with emotion, and tingled and shot
Out in fire the strong pain of pent knowledge; but I fainted not,
For the Hand still impelled me at once and supported, suppressed
All the tumult, and quenched it with quiet, and holy behest,
Till the rapture was shut in itself, and the earth sank to rest.
Anon at the dawn, all that trouble had withered from earth—
Not so much, but I saw it die out in the day's tender birth;

In the gathered intensity brought to the gray of the hills;
In the shuddering forests' held breath; in the sudden windthrills;
In the startled wild beasts that bore off, each with eye sidling still
Though averted with wonder and dread; in the birds stiff and chill
That rose heavily, as I approached them made stupid with awe;
E'en the serpent that slid away silent,—he felt the new law.
The same stared in the white humid faces upturned by the flowers;
The same worked in the heart of the cedar and moved the vine-bowers;
And the little brooks witnessing murmured, persistent and low,
With their obstinate, all but hushed voices—"E'en so, it is so!"

The Epilogue (42:7–17)

The Authority of Experience

It is a glorious tribute to spiritual freedom when the Lord declares, in the Epilogue, to Eliphaz that what he and his friends have said in defense of their traditional theology is wrong, and what Job has said, though poured forth wildly, out of the deeps of his seething soul, overwhelmed, is right.

Job has now gone through the three stages of the normal, intelligent, religious man: First, the period of conformity, without disturbance, with little doubt and less faith; secondly, the period of storm and stress, when the soul begins to awake to Spiritual Reality; when the whole universe must be thought through, as far as possible, and the individual oriented in the midst of

its infinities; thirdly, the period of final certainty and peace, in which the awakened but satisfied soul seeks self-expression in vital service to society. Job's friends must now be saved at his altar. He has a right to minister there, because he has that experience which alone can give real priestly authority. He has entered into the spirit's holy of holies by the door of grief and pain, and can now come out with the consolation and the cure provided by God Himself. He comes out in a brighter world. He had offered sacrifice, in the Prologue of the book, but only for his own family. There was no thought of anybody else. Now, his sacrifice is offered for the cruel heresy hunters who had prodded him to desperation.

It is a jar to pass from the magnificent poetry of the main body of the book into the prose conclusion, which offers atonement for what he had endured by giving him, in material things, twice as much as he had before. Gold earrings and money, a double number of sheep and camels, oxen and asses, are a pitiable recompense for all he had suffered. Seven new sons and three new daughters, be they never so charming, can never take the place of those asleep under the sod. We almost wish, therefore, that this part of the ancient folk-story, into which the poem has probably been inserted, had been destroyed. Yet, the marvellous growth in spirit evinced by comparison of the Job of the Prologue with the Job of the Epilogue, gives a compelling message; for Job, who had lived only a self-centered life before his calamity, now has a world God, a world vision, a sense of world brotherhood, a world commission, a world passion, and is, therefore, through and through a world man.

III

RUTH: The Claims of the Outsider Upon the Church

(430 B. C.)

The book of Ruth is a love story of enchanting beauty. A Hebrew family migrates from Bethlehem to Moab, where the father soon dies and the two sons marry Moabite girls, and, ten years afterwards, die. Poverty-stricken, the widowed mother decided to return home, where better times are reported to have come. The two daughters-in-law start with her, but she advises them to stay among their own people, as she can have no more sons to be husbands for them, and kisses them goodbye. Orpah turns back in tears, but Ruth says, "Entreat me not to leave thee, and to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; Jehovah do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." So they two went on until they came to Bethlehem, where their arrival in distress makes a sensation.

Ruth asks permission to go out and glean, and comes to the fields of Boaz, a rich bachelor kinsman of her father-in-law. Boaz is attracted by her, gives her the freedom of his fields, issues orders for her protection and invites her to drink the water his servants have drawn. She falls upon her face, asking why he so favors her, a stranger. He tells her it is because he has heard of her loyalty to her mother-in-law, leaving her own people and coming among strangers, to take refuge with a strange God. She is his guest at luncheon, and returns home laden with plenty.

Naomi sees to it that she gleans in the fields of Boaz to the end of the harvest, when she invents a desperate

hazard. She makes Ruth dress up, go to the threshing floor and put herself in the power of Boaz. That night, when he is drunk, the device succeeds. Ruth reminds him of his kinship. So, sending her away at daybreak with plenty of grain, he goes to the public gate of the town, where he finds a nearer kinsman, calls court and secures, in legal form, the right to purchase Naomi's homestead and marry Ruth.

They marry, and she becomes the great-grandmother of David, the ideal king of ancient Israel.

This story is classed, in the Hebrew Bible, with the latest section of the Old Testament writings. It contains some Aramaic words, and bears marks of being written long after the period of the judges, in which the scene is set. These times are looked back to as long past—so long past that the customs then prevalent are antiquated and little understood. The interest in the genealogy of David seems to point to a date when David had become the ideal of the nation.

Great emphasis is placed upon the fact that Ruth, a foreigner, comes among strangers, wins their confidence, and soon stands out recognized as a character of strength and beauty. Her mother-in-law protested against her coming, because there was no outlook for her marriage. The question of the intermarriage of Jews with foreigners seems now to be up.

All these items converge to suggest that the book is an inspired tract, written in protest against the cruel reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. They undertook to establish, in place of the fallen state, a religious community made up only of pure-blooded Jews. They required the breaking up of those homes whose wives and mothers were foreigners. There were those, four of whose names are especially given, who fought these reforms. This opposition doubtless grew in strength until it expressed itself in a literature of protest, a part of which is the Book of Ruth. It says to the reformers

"Be careful! The great-grandmother of David, our greatest king, was a Moabitess. These outsiders have great spiritual possibilities; they make claims upon us we dare not deny."

This little tract makes a like appeal to the church of today. The by-standers are everywhere. The foreigners are crowding our shores. America is the world's great melting pot. The church must hear the silent call of the outsider and adapt her message and her method of work to their understanding and needs.

IV

JONAH: God's Relentless Call to World Evangelization

(400 B. C.)

To appreciate this poweful little booklet, it is necessary to understand how it came to be written. When the Jews came back from Babylon, they set up, not a State, but a church, a religious community. Their experience with outside nations had been very bitter and so they gradually became narrow and selfish. Even God was theirs in a sense so peculiar as to make Him in their feelings owe nothing to anybody but the Jew. When Ezra and Nehemiah came and led their reformation, they undertook to shut out from the community everybody but Jews. Theirs was to be a religion based primarily upon blood. Even to this day the Jew cannot think religion apart from race. This makes Paul's abolishing distinctions more wonderful. The great outside had nothing to give them, and they in turn owed nothing to the great outside. A protest was made against this narrowness and that protest grew stronger and stronger until a broad-minded writer expressed it in this little book.

The hero of the story lived in the reign of Jeroboam the Second (II Kings 14:25), 781–740 B. C., but the

story was written very much later. Some of the reasons for thinking so are, the language and style, whose peculiarities are like those of the writings in the late period. The Psalm in Chapter 2 is largely a compilation of verses taken from our Book of Psalms, some of those quoted being post-exilic. The Assyrian empire seems to have passed away long since, for the name of the king is not given, and he was therefore not contemporary with the writer. The statement is made that Nineveh was an exceeding great city. The title, "King of Nineveh," which was not in use while the empire was standing, is used instead of "Great king of Assyria." Nineveh is referred to as quite unknown to those for whom the book is written. The term "God in Heaven" is post-exilic. The spirit of the prayer in Chapter 2 is late.

The general teaching of the book seems to have come out of the prophetic work now long completed. All these items point to about 400 B. C. as the date of its writing.

Many cheap jokes have been told at the expense of this little book, and people generally do not seem even yet to understand its real message because they try to read it as literal history. Professor Bewer well says:

"At almost every step the reader who takes the story as a record of actual happenings must ask questions. How was it possible that a true prophet should disobey a direct divine command? Is it likely that God should send a storm simply in order to pursue a single person and thus cause many others to suffer too? Do such things happen in a world like ours? Is it not curious that the lot should fall upon Jonah at once, and evidently without manipulation on the part of the sailors, and that the sea should become calm directly after he had been thrown overboard? That the great fish was at once ready to swallow Jonah may be passed, but that Jonah should have remained in the fish for three days, and three nights and should have prayed a beautiful

psalm of thanksgiving inside, exceeds the limits of credibility, not to mention the point that the fish did not simply eject him but threw him up on the shore. What an exaggerated idea of the greatness of Nineveh the author had! What language did Jonah speak in Nineveh? How could the people understand him? And what a wonderful result followed his preaching! The greatest prophets in Israel had not been able to accomplish anything like it. It is so unprecedented that Jesus regarded it as the most astounding wonder of the story (Luke 11, 29). Is it not strange that absolutely no trace has been left of the universal, whole-hearted repentance of the Ninevites and that the later prophets who prophesied against Assyria knew nothing of it? And what shall we say of the extraordinarily speedy growth of the plant?"

It is a prose poem and like all poetry is vague. The author is not interested in such details as a mere historian would have to give. He does not tell us anything about the kind of sins Nineveh was guilty of or what became of the city after it was spared. He leaves Jonah in the air and us to guess what finally happened to him. He uses stereotyped forms of speech to make his story uniform. He goes far enough to drive home his lesson and then stops.

Every now and then somebody tells us of a new discovery which proves Jonah true—a fish satisfying the conditions, a new sea yarn like this one, etc. We seem not yet to have reached the point where we do not need to confirm the spiritual message of a document by things outside of itself. No amount of spectacular display, no number of miracles wrought in the external world, can confirm or deny what this book said to the people of 400 B. C., and says also to those of 1920 A. D. As soon as we get away from the literal interpretation of the story as history, our difficulties disappear. Such a fish story has gone the world over. "A narrative accord-

ing to which a man was swallowed by a monster, remained a long time inside of it and came out later safe and sound, was told among many peoples. Maritime peoples naturally spoke of a large fish or another sea-monster, inland peoples of a wolf or bear or dragon or some other animal. The mode of deliverance varied, though sometimes it was the same as in the story of Jonah. The essential point, however, is the same with all. Our story of Jonah is therefore but one of a large number" current along the coast of Palestine. "The story of Perseus and Andromeda is localized at Joppa, the port at which Jonah embarked. And our author took this rather common feature of the swallowing of a man by a fish and his subsequent deliverance, and used it in his own manner. But his story is altogether different from those others. They are mostly mythical stories about the sun, his is a prophetic story, pervaded by the truest spirit of Israel's religion. To our author the mythical element has entirely disappeared. He uses the fish episode merely in order to bring Jonah back to the land."

The story as the medium of a religious message is one telling characteristic of effective preaching today. So much so that many sermons are little more than collections of tales. A genius may yet arise that will make each sermon simply a parable carrying a single truth to the hearts of the hearers.

Our author so tells the story as to make it God's relentless call to world evangelization. That call comes to all who know God, for all who do not. If Jonah, a Jew, must go to Nineveh, the metropolis of the bitterest enemies the Jew ever had, then anybody who knows must go to everybody who does not.

The call is disobeyed at our peril. The author uses the storm and the fish to portray the dangers of disobedience. We must give our message or lose it.

It is based upon the native human instincts. Jonah, fast asleep in the lower part of the boat, is aroused and

urged to pray, but he will enter into no religious exercises along with foreigners. Lots are cast, and he is chosen as the cause of the trouble. Asked for an account of himself, he confesses his fear of Yahweh, the God of Heaven, maker of the sea and the dry land, and that he is fleeing from Him. When the last desperate straits are reached and it passes from a religious to a humanitarian question, Jonah, following his deeper and broader instincts, is ready to be offered up for the salvation of the ship. He tells them to throw him over board, and thus offers up his life as a vicarious sacrifice. "At first, Jonah fled from the truth; at last, he laid down his life for it."

The psalm attributed to him in the stomach of the fish does not fit the situation, and has either been misplaced or added by a later hand.

Delivered, the call comes again, for it is relentless; it never lets up.

It is reinforced by the spontaneous response of the unspoiled human heart. We next find him a lone missionary, unbacked, unauthenticated, walking the streets of a great city a part of one day, preaching in an unknown tongue, and using one sentence: "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown!" At this, the whole nation—people, king and animals—is clothed in sackcloth and cries for mercy. This magnificant response of the native instincts to the unauthenticated message is the sign of Jonah mentioned by Jesus, accord ing to Mark, which is the oldest of the Gospel stories.

This call, in its ongoing, confiscates the life that has not the courage of its vision. Jonah is angered, not because his prophecy is not fulfilled, but because what he had foreseen in the character of God is now validated. "He meets again not only God, but the truth from which he fled." He sees he is too narrow to follow the heavenly vision. He wants to die, for the foundations on which he has built his life are now discredited. He re-

fuses to move forward with advancing truth. He will not subscribe to the formula, "God of all, or not God at all." Only the chosen people are His; all others deserve only to perish. Like many another, he sulks in the shade of his tent, feeling no longer any sense of a Divine Commission. He is now like many of his successors only an obstructionist.

The call which comes to all who know for all who do not know, which is disobeyed at our peril, which is based upon the native human instincts, which is reinforced by the response of the unspoiled heart, which confiscates in its ongoing the life that has not the courage of its vision, reaches its climax in the divine appeal to the gospel of personal attachments. A gourd vine springs up, shelters Jonah for a day, then withers. Jonah is glad of it, and faints for sheer rage when it dies. He is scathingly rebuked: "Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd?" And he replies, "I do well to be angry, even unto death." Then Yahweh says, "Thou hast had regard for the gourd, for which thou hast not labored, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night; and should not I have regard for Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?"

"God has vindicated His love to the jealousy of those who thought that it was theirs alone. And we are left with this grand vague vision of the immeasurable city, with its multitude of innocent children and cattle, and God's compassion brooding over all."

Our attachments for things earthly are manifold and deep. By these precious devotions, countless for all of us, God is pleading with this and every generation that we follow our instinctive logic from the things we love, though they have cost us little at most, to His love for all mankind, for all sentient life, indeed, that has cost Him so much.

The spirit of the book is much like that of the parables in the 15th chapter of Luke—the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin and the Lost Son. All three are but successive stages of one parable, presenting the joy of God over the restoral of even one that was lost. This three-fold parable was given in answer to the complaint of the Scribes and the Pharisees, "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them." The center of these stories is not the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son, but the yearning of the heart of God for his own, the worth He places upon even one, and the joy that follows every restoral. So, here, we have a flash-light into the depth, the breadth, the power of the Infinite Care that broods over all.

V

The Song of Songs: A Plea for Loyalty in Unwedded Love

(300 B. C.)

The title which was added later, and is therefore worthless, ascribes this book to Solomon. It is the Song of Songs, that is, the best of the Songs for which Solomon is famous. But the general feeling is that the book was written quite late in the history of Judaism, perhaps somewhere about the Third Century, B. C. This feeling is based upon conspicuous peculiarities of the language, such, for example, as the form of the relative pronoun, the circle of ideas, the background revealed in the book, its story, etc., and is reinforced by its tacit censure of polygamy and an appeal for monogamy. The leaders of the people were at this time anxious about family life, and were using vigorous means for furthering the purity and efficiency of the home. Other methods of interpretation have been proposed. The one that held sway longest was the allegorical, making it represent a dialogue between God and His people, Christ and the Church, Christ and the individual soul, etc. According

to another theory, it is some sort of drama; just what has not been agreed. The latest theory is that it is a collection of erotic poems, sung or recited during the seven days of the marriage festival.

All things considered, it seems most probable that it is a drama, the story of which is as follows:

The Shulamite is a country girl, living probably with her widowed mother and two brothers in the hills of Judea. She goes down to a walnut garden by the roadside one spring morning,

> "To see the fresh green plants of the valley,
>
> To see whether the vine had budded, and the pomegranates were in flower."

King Solomon's procession passes on the way to his summer home in the Lebanons (1:2–8). Frightened, she starts to run, but they call her back and she is swept along with them to the Palace.

The King is enamored of her, but she refuses his suit. To win her over to him, the women of the royal household praise Solomon and the pleasures of life there. She naïvely pleads her unfitness for such honors, saying she is sunburnt because her brothers made her keep the vineyards. While they are pressing the delights of Solomon, her thoughts are with her absent lover, and she talks to him aside.

She meets the King in his parlors (1:9–2:7), but his fulsome flattery serves only to intensify her devotion to her absent lover, whom she addresses aside, explaining to Solomon that she is only a "Rose of Sharon, a lily of the valleys"—just a country flower—unable to bloom in the gorgeous atmosphere of royalty. Overcome by the inrushing memories of precious experiences with her lover back in the hills, she faints and cries for restoratives. Rallying, she adjures the daughters of Jerusalem,

"By the gazelles and by the harts of the field,
That ye stir not up, nor awaken love,
Until it please."

As the gazelles and the harts are coy and free, so love must spring spontaneously from within and not be induced from without.

Later, her lover comes to find her (2:8–17). She feels his approach in the distance by a sort of telepathy, and describes to the courtwomen his movements until he appears at the lattice in the wall, singing to her. She repeats to the women the song he is singing, in which he begs that she come away with him, that she let him see her form, hear her voice. She sings, in answer, a little vineyard ditty:

"Take us the foxes,
The little foxes
That spoil the vineyards;
For our vineyards are in bloom."

Growing uneasy for him, she begs him to flee until night, when he can return with greater safety.

She has had an exciting day, retires agitated and dreams of his return (3:1–5). The next morning, half awake, she tells her dream to the women, closing with another exhortation that they "stir not up nor awaken love until it please."

A great pageant is arranged to overawe her, and King Solomon comes up from the wilderness in royal array (3:6–11). In answer to her question, "What is this that cometh up from the wilderness?" the bystanders, pointing out to the Shulamite the gorgeous splendor of his equipage, praise the King.

He meets her again in the parlors and again presses his suit. Assuming that he has won, he remarks as he goes out that he will take a walk among the hills until evening (4:1–7). As he leaves, her shepherd lover comes

and speaks to her through the lattice, begging that she come with him (4:8–5:1). A beautiful interview follows, with the lattice in the wall between them.

That night, she has another dream of his coming and tells it to the women next morning (5:2–6:3). They become interested in the lover who so absolutely commands her, and ask what kind of a beloved he is. Her magnificent description of him makes them all the more anxious to know him; discovering which, she jealously snatches him back, saying in substance, they need not trouble any further, she belongs to him and he to her.

Solomon makes another appeal to her in substantially the same terms as before, adding that he would make her the queen of his harem (6:4–13). She explains how she came to be caught that morning when she was carried away from home.

Then follows a scene, probably in the dressing room, where she is prepared by the courtwomen for a final interview with the king (7:1–5).

When she meets him in the parlor, he continues the women's vulgar praises (7:6–8:4). The vulgarity of the women and the king, at this point, is intended to emphasize the contrast between the sensual world in which they live and the spiritual world in which she, as the embodiment of pure love, lives. At the end of his voluptuous description, he says,

> "And the smell of thy breath like apples;
> And thy mouth like the best wine. . . ."

she snatches the word from him—

"That goeth down smoothly for my beloved,
Gliding through the lips of those that are asleep."

She then exclaims in triumph, "I am my beloved's, and his desire is toward me!" and breaks away from the king, who now recognizes that he is powerless to reach her and lets her go.

With a parting shot at the courtwomen, adjuring them not to "stir up nor awaken love until it please," she leaves the palace for her country home with her shepherd lover (8:5–7). Arm in arm they go over the hills, by the little villages, across the meadows, through the wilderness, pointing out places precious even from childhood and recounting stories of the old times, as they go. Their reminiscences culminate in her triumphant pæan, which is the climax of the poem:

"Set me as a seal upon thine heart,
As a seal upon thine arm:
For strong as death is love,
Exacting as the grave is affection;
The flashes thereof are flashes of fire,
Its flames are flames of God.
Many waters cannot quench love,
Neither can floods drown it:
If a man should give all the substance of his house for love.
He would be utterly despised."

During the marriage feast that follows (8:8–14), she recalls what her brothers used to say of her; that if she proved to be a wall, resisting attacks and preserving her innocence, they would give her a large dowry; that if she yielded like a door, allowing an enemy to pass her defenses, they would bar her in. With a thrill of joy, she proudly exclaims, "I have been a wall—the guardian of my honor!" All the luxuries and glories of the world have been contemptuously spurned for the riches that simple love brings. She is asked by the bridegroom to let his companions hear her voice, and she sings the words she had spoken to him through the lattice in the Lebanon palace:

"Flee, my beloved, and be like a gazelle
Or a young hart upon the balsam slopes."

"The poetry of the song is exquisite. The movement is graceful and light; the imagery is beautiful and singularly picturesque; the author revels among the delights of the country; one scene after another is brought before us—doves hiding in the clefts of the rocks or resting beside the water brooks, gazelles leaping over the mountains or feeding among the lilies, goats reclining on the sloping hills of Gilead, trees with their varied foliage, flowers with bright hues or richly scented perfume, are ever supplying the poet with a fresh picture or comparison; we seem to walk with the lover himself, among vineyards and fig trees in the balmy air of spring, or to see the fragrant, choicely furnished garden which the charms of his betrothed call up before his imagination. The number of animals and plants, as well as works of human art and labor—many not mentioned elsewhere—which are named in the song is remarkable. The poet also alludes to many localities in a manner which usually shows him to have been personally familiar with them—Kedar, En-gedi, the Sharon, Bether (if this is a proper name), Lebanon (several times), the hills of Gilead, David's tower in Jerusalem with its hanging shields, Amana, Senir, Hermon, Tirzah, Mahanaim, Heshbon (the pools of the gate Bathrabbim), the 'Tower of Lebanon looking out towards Damascus,' Carmel, Baal-hamon: those which he seems to be most familiar with and to which he turns most frequently being localities in North Palestine, especially in or near Lebanon."

The growth of the Shulamite is one of the charms of the book. In the beginning she is only a shy country girl, overawed by the glamour of the King and the Court. She apologizes for her sunburnt complexion and her country ways. She is only a rose of Sharon, unable to bloom in that gorgeous setting. In the end, she faces them all with a conscious power that is overwhelming. "Thou art terrible as an army with banners," Solomon declares, and begs—

"Turn away thine eyes from me,
For they make me afraid!"

We have in Hosea a telling account of the faithfulness of wedded love. It would be strange if there were in the Bible, which is intended to be the Book of Life, no discussion of the sex question, which plays such an enormous rôle in social life. The appeal this book makes for loyalty in unwedded love should be thundered from every house top and preached by every fireside.

America never needed so badly as now to bring back her young people to emotional sanity and loyalty.

VI

PROVERBS: The Art of Getting on in the World (950–250 B. C.)

The making of Proverbs: Every nation has them. They are the crystallized wisdom of a race. They are poetic in form, easily transmissible in oral tradition. Popular Proverbs often run through many generations.

Their origin: They are sometimes the outgrowth of an historical incident. For example; Saul was seen among the dervish-like Prophets, raving with them, and hence the proverb: "Is Saul also among the Prophets?" They are sometimes developed from riddles, such as Samson's, sometimes derived from a fable, sometimes the result of simple comparison, sometimes the product of the meditation of the wise. These are of course academic.

The structure of the book: There are really eight books of Proverbs bound together in one. Their combination was probably a growth. The different layers of the book are distinguishable by headlines that appear between the different sections.

The divisions are as follows:

1. Chapters 1–9. This is an introduction to the book,

originally written, it is thought, shortly before the exile as an introduction to the second section. It is a somewhat logical discussion of wisdom as contrasted with folly, setting forth the purpose of the book, and giving exhortations to a young man, a disciple of the sage, outlining the dangers incident to youth, and commending wisdom as a guide. The parallelism is prevailingly synonymous.

2. 10:1–22:16. This is introduced by the heading "The Proverbs of Solomon." It is supposed to be the oldest section of the book, belonging to the golden days of the monarchy. It consists of pithy aphorisms, each verse a complete proverb, and is without logical connection, though there is great regularity of form. The parallellism in ten to fifteen is antithetic, while in the rest it is synthetic. The tone is the brightest and happiest of all the book, though there are fewer distinctly religious proverbs. The subjects concern man in his ordinary occupation, the rewards of virtue and the paths to fortune are described. Prosperity is indicated. References to the king are bright and happy, the spirit of good-cheer and hopefulness is felt throughout.

3. 22:17–24:22. Introduced by "Incline thine ear and hear the words of the wise." It is hortatory like the first section, made up of prudential maxims rather than individual proverbs. Advice is given on many subjects. The king and Jehovah are to be specially feared, and revolution dreaded. It is supposed to have been written shortly before the exile. The parallellism is synthetic, running into six, seven, or even eight lines, resulting in quatrains.

4. 24:23–24. The heading is, "These also are of the wise." These few verses are an appendix added to the third section.

5. 25–29. The caption is: "These also are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied out." Two-membered verse prevails

although the didactic dissertation, reaching even to ten lines, occurs. The parallelism is mostly synthetic. The general character of this section is very like number two, which is attributed to Solomon. The utilitarian element exceeds the religious or the philosophical. The general tone is not so happy as number two. The king is not set in so favorable a light. He is spoken of not from the standpoint of the king, but of a citizen of the middle class. It reflects the grinding down of the people by taxation. It seems to come out of a changed state of society. Agriculture is inculcated. It is supposed to be an appendix to number two.

6. 30. "The words of Agar, son of Jakeh, the Massite," It is a cry of skepticism.

7. 31:1–9. "The words of Lemuel, King of Massah, which his mother taught him." A body of maxims for the guidance of a king.

8. 31:10–31. There is no title. This is thought to be the latest appendix. It is an alphabetical poem describing the ideal woman.

The background: Historical. This is little indicated. There is no reference to a fact or incident or person that fixes the place of the book in the history of Israel. The historic conditions reflected are different in the different sections. The name of Solomon, to whom the second section is attributed is worth hardly more than a headline in a modern newspaper. It was customary in the later periods for an author to write over the name of some great man who stood out in the tradition as representative of the field of thought in which he was working. Moses stood for law, David for the psalms, and Solomon for wisdom. They often gave an archaic background to their productions. The absence of a national spirit and of allusions to Hebrew national traits and customs would point to the loss of the nation, and the change from a nation into a religious community after the exile, as the period out of which the book in its final form came.

The social background: Monogomy is assumed. Life is urban rather than rural. The vices mentioned are distinctly those of the city,—perjury, theft, robbery, greed, unchastity, gossip, murder. There are references, however, to agricultural, pastoral, and commercial life.

The allusions to Kings are variable, some favorable, others unfavorable. Private citizens might meet them socially.

Family government is by parents who are considered entitled to obedience and respect from their children. The mother has equal honor with the father. Woman is a power in the home for good or evil. The happiness of the home depends chiefly upon her.

The religious background: There is no mention of idolatry.

A large body of the wise are referred to. The only distinctively Jewish element in the book is sacrifice, mentioned five times; three put character above cult (15:8, 21:3–27); the others (7:14 and 17:1) refer more particularly to feasting. There is no reference to temple or priest, prophet or Israel, or Israel's covenant with Jehovah. The temple cult is recognized, but is of little moral value. Substitute God for Yahweh and the book will suit any other nation as well as Israel. The source of the Sage's authority is his own intuition or insight. He mentions neither Moses nor the Prophets, nor a collection of sacred books. There are two quotations (Pr. 30:5 and 6) one from Psalms (18:31), the other from Deut. (4:2 and 13:1), but neither is named.

Theological Conceptions: God.—Monotheism is assumed. There is no reference to Angels or other supernatural beings. God is thought of in His nature as omnipotent, omniscient, unchangeable, unsearchable, glorying in concealing a thing, just, loving the righteous; in His relation to the world, as Creator, sovereign of the universe, controlling the thoughts and actions of men, directing the destiny of the lot, determining the issue of

battles, having a purpose, even for the wicked, judging human actions, rewarding human conduct. He abominates falsehood, perverseness, evil devices, unjust measures, unjust decisions, pride, skepticism, and an interesting group of hateful sins. He is the champion of the widow, the poor, the wise, the righteous, and those who trust Him.

Man: Man is in nature everywhere the same, finite, fallible, possessed of a God-given conscience, is never satisfied, a peculiar sorrow in every heart, sensitive to joy or pain, capable of rising above adversity, not too faithful, his physical health depending upon his state of mind. The word fool seems to mean uneducated, folly the absence of education. If you substitute uneducated man for fool many passages will become more intelligible. The uneducated man is characterized as inattentive, dull, unskilled in speech, dissatisfied, proud of his lack of education (15:21 and 10:23), improvident, indiscreet, untrustworthy, disgusting, unendurable, dangerous. Education, on the other hand, seeks to acquire understanding, knowledge, wisdom. The instructors are one's parents and the Sages themselves. Discipline plays an important rôle. Education is better than riches, is a guide to right speech, secures favor, brings victory, is the source of wealth, and insures a long and peaceful life. Family relations are made much of. The obligations of the son to his parents are strongly set forth, but the daughter, as usual in the Orient, is disregarded. The dependence of parents upon their children for happiness is likewise emphasized. The relations between husband and wife are fully characterized, the wife sharing with the husband the responsibilities of government. She is a source of woe or happiness to her husband. The ideal wife is trusted by her husband, faithful to his interests, industrious and prudent, charitable, provident, wise and kind, worthy of honor. The Sage does not encourage mere formal

sociability, but does believe with all his heart in loyal friendship. The same picture of poverty and riches to be found in all ages is here also. Poverty is thought to be caused by intemperance, bad friendships, oppression, laziness. It has its disadvantages, but it is preferable to dishonesty. Then, as now, wealth was gained by violence, inheritance, gift of God, good conduct, labor, diligence. When acquired justly wealth is good; unjustly, bad. The golden mean, neither great riches nor great poverty, is best of all.

Man in his legal relations is described in some detail. The special duties and political relations of kings, princes, nobles, and judges are given. Their proper attitude toward the people and the people's attitude toward them described. True patriotism, genuine love of country is enjoined.

Ethics: Its ethical standards are high, even regard for beasts is not forgotten. Man owes it to himself to avoid indolence, disdainfulness, greed, hatred, anger, jealousy, revenge, ingratitude, contention, flattery, dissimulation, lying, breach of confidence, treachery, slander, evil machinations, oppression of the poor, sensuality, temptation. He owes it to himself also as a member of society to cherish justice, uprightness, faithfulness in friendship, charity toward another's faults, consideration, wisdom in dealing with the unwise, tact, kind words, helpfulness, liberality, mercy, love, kindness toward an enemy, right desires, meekness, purity of heart, righteousness, temperance in all things. He owes God reverence, submission, regard for the prophetic word, honor, trust. The book seeks to establish a safe, peaceful and happy family and community life. Stress is laid upon honesty, truthfulness, love, justice which is exalted everywhere, chastity, kindness, regard for the poor, for property rights and human life, modesty, discretion, self-control, industry, thrift, temperance, forgiveness, humility, reverence. Woman is regarded

only as a wife and housewife, but the position accorded her is as high as in Egypt, Greece, or Rome.

Yet, strange to say, some vital virtues are not mentioned, to-wit: courage, fortitude, moderation in thought, self-sacrifice, intellectual truthfulness, which was foreign to the Jewish mind, beauty as an element of life. There is no recognition of international ethics, and no inquiry into the psychological basis of the moral life. Life is mainly external and practical. There is no reference to sorrow for sin, no inward struggle with temptation, no process of conversion. "Conscience" and "duty" have no corresponding Hebrew words. Not abstract ideas, but how to get on in the world was the chief concern. Sin is conduct in violation of the laws of our being, and salvation is deliverance from earthly evil. There is no reference to the Messianic Hope.

Worship: The Sage was not particularly sympathetic with sacrifice. Character counted for more with him than cult. Nor did he tolerate even prayer on the lips of the wicked. But he who worships sincerely can count on being heard.

Redemption and the after-life: As usual, in the cruder parts of the old Testament, Sheol is the abode of all classes alike and has no moral significance. Divine judgments rewarding virtue and punishing sin are meted out here and now. The idea of ethical immortality does not appear.

Literary characteristics: There is a rather large Aramaic element. This became the language of Western Asia about 400 B. C.

There are comparatively few Greek words and only eight or ten Arabic. There are very many late Hebrew words, several of which are not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. In many places the style is artificial.

When all the facts are taken into consideration, we seem to have in the Book of Proverbs a sort of epitome of the crystallized practical wisdom of the Hebrew race.

This process of crystallization went on through the whole history and was gathered together in its final form probably long after the exile.

VII

ECCLESIASTES: The Philosophy of the Self Quest
(200 B. C.)

There were two movements in the ancient world that affected the stream of the Life of God flowing through the soul of the Hebrew race. The first of these was the scattering of the Hebrews, the Jews later, over the face of the earth, until they were found in Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome—everywhere, indeed. The letters of First Peter and James, in the New Testament, were written to the Dispersion, which was the name by which they were called. The second movement that affected Jewish life and thought was the expansion of Greece. Xenophon and the officers and soldiers who came back from the Peloponnesian War brought a new conception of the outside world. Finding something of value among barbarians, a scheme of colonization was projected in Asia. Alexander later undertook to unite the whole world, with Greek culture as the cementing force. The progress of Hellenization was extensive and persistent. It invaded Palestine. A race course, theater and gymnasium were built in Jericho, and a theater in Jerusalem. The Decapolis, the ten cities around the Sea of Galilee, expressed the new spirit. Large numbers of Jews, many aristocrats among them, came under the influence of this liberalizing movement. The meeting of these two currents, Jewish religion and Greek culture, produced a new type, which prepared the way for Christianity. The second, third, and fourth centuries B. C. were times of transition. The old faith was shaken to its foundations.

Of course, a reactionary movement set in, and the conflict was fierce, culminating in the fiery times of the Maccabees.

In the struggles of such transition periods, many lose their way, unable to hold on to the old or think through the new. They are lost in the maze. This is probably what happened to the author of Ecclesiastes. He seems to have gone the whole round of enterprise and adventure in search of himself, and, at the end, tells his whole story, wabbling from one extreme to another, as it had happened, to help others who might be overwhelmed by the universal shaking up of things. He takes the name of Solomon, who stood out as the embodiment of everything in Wisdom, as Moses did for everything in Law and David for everything in Song.

Pseudonymous writing was common at the time. Several facts make it impossible to ascribe the book to Solomon. Linguistic peculiarities are against it. There are something like one hundred words or expressions found only in post-exilic Hebrew literature. The author writes as if he had been king over Israel, but had now ceased to be, and he would hardly have spoken of all that had been before him in Jerusalem, when there had been only two on the throne. The viewpoint is not that of a king, but of an oppressed people. The background is post-exilic; the spirit is late. It is generally admitted that more hands than one were engaged upon it. Luther was the first to break away from the traditional view of the Solomonic authority, thinking it to be a compilation of books from the great library in Alexandria. Another view is that it was a book written by a pessimist, telling the worst side of the human story, with dangerous implications which were corrected by later insertions. That there have been insertions, one can scarcely doubt; how many, it is impossible to say. The body of the material, however, may well have been the product of one hand, under the spell of shifting move-

ments and emotions. Even the pessimist has bright moments, and the optimist, times of gloom.

The book opens (1:1–11) with a picture of the endless cycles of nature, which brings us back tomorrow to where we are today, with no gain and no knowledge of things that have gone before. All is vanity.

Then he gives a sort of summary of his search for himself (1:12–2:23) by surveying all human enterprises, only to find that increased knowledge increases pain. Joy is not to be found in material things. All that money could provide of sensual pleasure in every form is secured. He goes all the gaits, getting only vanity and a striving after wind in return. He tries playing the fool, with the same result. Why all his toils, the products of which are to go to another who may turn out to be a fool? Anyhow, death levels all. There is no rest, and so the best motto is: Enjoy drink and work for its own sake. This is God's way.

And we are helpless before God (3:1–15), who has set everything in fixed seasons in which we can only go our little rounds, doing what has been done before us. We yearn to know, but God has set ignorance in our hearts, to make us afraid of Him. What He does, lasts; we can neither add to nor take from it. The best for us is to have a good time. The revolving circles go according to a divinely made world order, in which we are held fast.

The same conclusion is reached by observing that men are like beasts in their treatment of each other, and, like beasts, they die, ending, alike, in the dust, (3:16–4:12). There is nothing better, therefore, than to rejoice in our work. He sees the tears of the oppressed, who have no comforter, and he congratulates the dead more than the living; and better than either, is he who has never been born. Sharp competition and jealousy are everywhere. Rivalry is vain. The miser is inhuman, even to himself. Coöperation is the strength of men; a threefold cord is not easily broken.

Turning to the study of politics (4:13–16), he discovers the vanity of popularity.

What has religion to offer? It is full of shams (5:1–7). Do not go to church because it is popular; go with a purpose, if at all. Obedience is better than ritual, better, also, than hasty vows. Fear God alone. Holiness, formalism, hypocrisy, frivolous excesses, dreams, etc., are often substituted for vital religion. He pleads for sincerity and reverence.

Returning to the oppression so common in the Orient (5:8–6:12), he is not surprised that the under classes are crushed, since so many above them in the satrapial hierarchy are engaged in spying on each other, with a view to squeezing the ones below them. Yet, monarchy has its advantages in an agricultural land. He who loves silver will not be satisfied with silver. When goods increase, eaters increase. Sleep, so sweet to the laborer, is often denied the miserly rich, who shall go out at last, after useless vexation, naked. Blessed be the man to whom God gives wealth, with the power to eat of it and rejoice in his work. To some, this is denied. They may have an hundred children and yet be denied even burial. An untimely birth were better, because the fœtus reaches Sheol "by a shorter and less agonizing way," finding more rest there than one who lives two thousand years without the satisfactions of life and proper burial in the end. A fixed fate determines all. Who can contend with God, and who knows what shall be after Him?

After a group of proverbs (7:1–14), Koheleth makes another great arraignment of life (7:15–9:16). He sets forth the uselessness of extremes, even in righteousness and religion. Realty is deep, deep. Who can find it? He pays his respects to women, not one of whom he has ever found true. God made men upright, but they have sought out many contrivances. Character transforms one's countenance. Be careful of your attitude toward

a king; one never knows what an irresponsible despot will do, and there is no furlough in war. Righteousness and godlessness are the same in their final results, yet the principle that it shall be well with those who fear God and not well with the wicked, holds. Nevertheless, the righteous and the wicked often change places in reward. Gladness is good. All things are in God's hands, whose work man cannot fathom, and of whose hate and love we can never be sure. Death comes to all, the righteous and the wicked, the religious and the irreligious, after which all alike are forgotten and none have any portion in what is to come after. Therefore, brighten up, enjoy life with wine, the woman you love and the work you do, doing with might what your hands find to do, for there is no work, nor reckoning, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in Sheol, whither you are going. Ability and merit do not count; the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Human benefactors are soon forgotten.

The passage 9:17–10:20 is probably made up largely of interpolations. It consists of proverbs, notes on the proper attitude toward rulers, comments upon the ways of despotism, etc., closing with a warning against sin of all kinds, even in thought, since a little bird might carry the secret.

He has gone the rounds, halting at nothing, hesitating nowhere, and comes now to his final advice (11:1–12:8): Be generous, casting not your luxuries, but your bread, your necessities, upon the waters. You cannot prevent the rain. If you toss a stick in the air for divination, you have no control over the result. A weather observer will never sow. You cannot understand the mysteries of God, who makes the way of the wind and the bones in the womb. From the morning until the evening of life, do manfully the full round of life's duties, never hesitating at uncertainties; revel in the sheer joy of living, for life is good, though brief. Sheol is an unsubstantial reality; there will be no joy there. Make the most of youth.

Gratify your desires; put away vexation; take the line of least resistance. Your prime is soon over; give yourself to its delights. Remember your Creator in the first of life, that you may have Him in the last, when the enjoyment of life grows less, the clouds returning to darken its brightness; when the hands tremble, the legs bend themselves, the teeth be few, the eyes lose their luster, the lips shut, the voice quivers with the rustling of the toothless gums; when you shall awake with the twittering birds, when the notes of music cannot be heard; when shortness of breath makes it hard to climb; when your walk is full of terrors, because you cannot handle yourself; when the hair is white; when the simplest weight is a burden; when stimulants to appetite fail. For man goes to his eternal house, and the mourners go about the streets.

Enjoy life while the silver cord is not broken, so that the golden bowl hanging by it, feeding the lamps, falls and is smashed; enjoy life before the water jar is shattered at the spring and can carry no more water, or the water wheel be broken at the well so that you can draw no more; enjoy life here and now, before the body returns to the earth and the spirit to God who gave it.

The closing verses were probably added later.

He has probed life and the world, fearlessly and relentlessly. He has stated his conclusions frankly, undeterred by any personal or sentimental reason. He has been compelled to find the older religious conceptions inadequate, the new imperfect and unverified. The mists hanging over his outlook have forced him to pessimism, but nevertheless, his concluding advice, in accordance with the philosophy which more than once during this century came to the front, is manly and healthy, if not altogether inspiring: Enter into life heartily; be kindly; venture to sow and reap, and fill the whole round of life's duties while you can. Let the young man make the most of his youth, for the inevitable decay of bodily powers will come with

advancing age and the unconsciousness of Sheol will terminate all.

After all his wanderings, during which he threw overboard many things, he seems to round out his career with confidence in God and our final relations to Him. He presses home on every page the insufficiency of the world. He has tried it all. There is nothing in the best it can give. Byron's lines written on his thirty-sixth birthday tell his experience:

> "My days are in the yellow leaf:
> The fruits and flowers of love are gone;
> The worm, the canker and the grief
> Are mine alone!"

He pleads that we shall readjust the inadequate faith of past ages to the changing order of the world today, holding to that which is vital. He would encourage education, but warns against depending upon it. He would preach with telling power the gospel of work. He would make religion vital and wholesome. He would exhort that we give out the best we have in kindly service to all who need; that we view all things from the standpoint of the heart's holy of holies, with emotional sanity and in the perspective of final values, and that we put into the first of life those things which we shall need in the last of life.

PART FIVE

APOCALYPSES

I

Apocalypse in the Old Testament

One cannot go through a museum where mural tablets from ancient Babylon are assembled without a better appreciation of the fantastic figures used by Old Testament writers from Ezekiel on. These figures are hard for us to understand because they are so far away from anything we have experienced. Indeed the chief difficulty in biblical interpretation lies in the fact that it is impossible for most of us to transfer ourselves back to these long-gone eras in a far-off atmosphere and feel the power of emotions, ideas, ideals and methods of thought ruling there.

The literature secreted by the prophets from Hebrew life, when hearts were beating hard, was fresh and creative, but was succeeded by the sterile period of scribism when Judaism became the religion of a book. Life never goes back. There is a vast difference between a period living in the thrill of newly discovered wonderlands and one given over to forcing its own life into the moulds of the past. The spiritual fertility of the one gives place to the sterility of the other. A great revival of religion is not seldom followed by a long protracted attempt to measure everything and determine everything by what was thought and done when life was at the full. An age of criticism when the products of past spiritual genius are dissected, classified, systematized, is an age of timid halting, of cautious hesitation, of fear and distrust, rather than love and courage. It is always in danger of forgetting that truth is bigger than any definition of it, life far greater than any possible description of it. It may be an age in which men live

by what they deny, rather than by what they affirm; by what they hate, rather than by what they love; by what they fear, rather than by what they hope; by their dead levels, rather than by their enthusiasms. It may be an age in which men give more attention to taking care of the Ark of the Covenant than to realizing the infinite spiritual resources of which it is a symbol. It is an age therefore in which men kill each other for the love of God. For he who will not submit to the sway of the dead hand is a heretic.

Such was the period of pharisaism whose scribes were given to squaring the issues of their day with the letter of the law. The scribes looked to their sacred literature, not only for rigid rules of life, but also for inspiration and hope in times of distress. What had the prophets to say about an hour like this? What escape do they offer? What promise? It is always easy to find in the Scriptures something of what we are looking for.

Many ancient prophesies had not been fulfilled. When will God make them all good? When will He visit and redeem His people? Such questions burning in the troubled hearts of the devout found answer in the work of the scribes who, "by symbolizing what was literal and literalizing what was figurative" sought to work out a scheme of history that gave comfort and kept hope alive. Such methods cannot long survive in the chilling atmosphere of cold facts. The spirit must break through language and escape in the form of fantasms and find a larger world for the play of its creative imagination. Such is the origin of the apocalyptic literature. Prophesy passed into scribism and scribism through cold storage into apocalyptic.

Charles says that prophesy and apocalyptic agree in having made known through the Divine Spirit the character, will and purposes of God and the laws and nature of His kingdom. These were revealed by God and not discovered by man. They agree also in similarity of

materials and methods. Ezekiel, Joel and Zechariah show us the beginnings and the general type.

Charles points out also that prophesy and apocalyptic differ in very important particulars. Prophecy still believes that this is God's world and that in this world His goodness and truth will yet be justified. The past is organically connected with the future. The prophet gives himself to the present and the issues immediately before him and is concerned with the future chiefly as it grows out of the present. History is the normal development of the race, of the Hebrew race in particular. The prophet is an optimist; the apocalyptic is a pessimist as to this world and the present. The world will grow worse and worse until by a final cataclysm God changes all things.

This identical doctrine is preached to-day. Despairing of the present we must turn to the future. The best the gospel offers is to prepare the elect for escape from imminent doom, meet the Lord at His second coming, and enter with Him upon His Messianic reign. There is no good reason, therefore, for missionary effort. The world is hopeless. There are no longer any prophets. Revelation ceased in the first century. God finished His last word to men. Then He sealed that word up in the two groups of booklets we call the Bible.

If anybody had anything to say from 175 B. C. to 100 A. D., he was likely to speak in the name of some great man in the past,—Daniel, Enoch, Moses, Ezra, Baruch, Abraham.

The ancient prophet dealt primarily with his own nation; incidentally with other nations round about. Only a few had a real world view and none had more than an outline philosophy of history. The apocalyptist, on the other hand, sought to vindicate God and His dealings with His people, through long periods of distress at the hands of other nations by working out a scheme of things that would set forth the original divine purpose.

The world was mechanical, made and set by God, and would grind itself out in His good time. Meanwhile it was necessary to be patient and hold on to Him until the final trend to things should bring the Jew to the throne of the world. The coming and going of empires marked the grinding that was going on. The apocalyptist became the vent for the pent-up fury of His suffering people. They portray therefore a doom of merciless and irremediable cruelty awaiting heathen oppressors and exhaust themselves in a futile effort to satisfy their relentless hatred in this life. They turned to the next to picture the damnation of the wicked.

During this period the doctrine of future rewards and punishments took definite form. All this is another attempt to adjust the doctrine of Deuteronomy, according to which righteousness secures temporal prosperity and suffering is caused by sin alone, to the facts of life. Ancient promises and present experiences were in conflict. The prophets had nothing to say about the future of the individual but much to say about the resurrection of the nation. Since Jeremiah, however, the individual had compelled consideration. His righteousness also must find adequate reward, if God is to be justified. Hence the doctrine of the resurrection of the individual. In working out both of these conceptions, the apocalyptist gives his philosophy of history in which the course and consummation of all things are traced. In the Messianic Kingdom or in heaven itself the Jew will come to his own.

This method of writing in pictures became tremendously effective when under the persecutions of the Syrian kings it was impossible to write current history in plain language. One would have done it at the peril of his life. But it was easy to give a message of telling power such as Daniel's in enigmatic symbols, utterly meaningless to the outsider, but rich in spiritual suggestion to the initiate. The two outstanding books in which this was done are Daniel and Revelation. To un-

derstand either of these with any degree of thoroughness involves the mastery of the whole apocalyptic movement.

Our interest in that movement lies in the fact that early Christianity came out of it. Jesus Himself made use of the materials and methods of these writers. The thoughts and ideals, the spirit and hope, of the world into which He came can be understood only in the light of the apocalyptic literature.

II

HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH 1–8: RELIGION IN RECONSTRUCTION

(520 B. C.)

We ordinarily think of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity as the march of a mighty host back to take charge of their ancient possessions once more. As a matter of fact the indications are that those who returned were comparatively few in number and of small account. Many of the people had grown wealthy and were having a good time. Why should they hazard their fortunes upon a sentimental adventure? They were willing to contribute to the upbuilding of the homeland and so materials were gathered and, permission being given by the new authorities in Babylon, the procession starts under Zerubbabel and Joshua. They bring back among other things the sacred vessels of the temple, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar and now restored by Cyrus. Perhaps four months of trudging brought them home. Viewed with the eyes of the world and of the hour, it was but a meager stream of the religious life trickling its tedious way across the desert waste, only to find its long expected outlet but another desert. Yet in that little stream the ages are embosomed. The exiles returned from Babylon to found, not a nation, but a church, not a State, but a religious commu-

nity. The hope of the people scattered among the great empires of the world had now died out forever.

Once on the soil of the promised land again, they probably sought out and settled in their old habitats. Seven months after the return they gathered at Jerusalem to reëstablish formal worship. The altar was rebuilt and sacrifices and feasts were resumed. In a few months the foundation of the temple was laid with proper ceremonial; yet there were those who wept at the contrast between the new and the old. Opposition soon developed from the half-heathen Samaritans, who sought to share in the work of reconstruction. Irritated at being refused, they set about obstructing the work by threats of violence and by intrigues at the Persian Court. So that for fifteen long years it stood still. Meanwhile their own houses were fitted up in the most approved styles. They excused themselves by arguing that the time had not come for Jehovah's house to be built. Perhaps every pastor since with such a task on hand has met this argument.

How could they get on without a Temple? Could religion survive without a center for its expression and practice? They might have thought so but for a withering drought that threatened universal famine. Short crops sometimes do more to bring on a revival than all the evangelists. When the critical moment arrived, Haggai came forward with his first message to the leaders of the people on their feast day. His appeals in four addresses stung them into action and in less than a month they resumed work on the Temple. There were those who were bitterly disappointed, but the prophet's eye could see even the Gentiles bringing their gifts till finally the new Temple would be more glorious than the old. He was soon joined by Zechariah, who saw Haggai's message reinforced in a series of eight visions. Messengers announced the divine displeasure at the malicious delight of the heathen in Israel's disasters.

God loves his people. The time for the rebuilding of the Temple is at hand. Four horns of iron, symbolizing the powers that had afflicted Israel are to be shattered by four smiths. A man with a measuring line appeared to measure Jerusalem, but it was useless. God is her defense and her glory. Joshua, the High Priest, clothed in filthy garments, is put on trial. The garments are changed for rich apparel, thus symbolizing the sentence of pardon upon the people. He becomes a symbol of the sprout of the stock of David, yet to be their final deliverer. A seven-lamped chandelier with seven pipes tapping a central reservoir, with two olive trees beside it, suggests to the prophet the exhaustless resources at his command, "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit," saith Yahweh of Hosts.

A roll, carrying a curse upon criminals, flies over the whole land. An ephah goes forth with a woman in it who symbolizes wickedness, which is now banished to the land of unholiness. Four chariots come out from between two mountains of brass, drawn by horses red, black, white and grizzled. They are the winds going to execute judgment on the heathen who rejoiced at the affliction of God's people. The people were thus told that better days were coming, the Temple would be rebuilt, the land cleansed and their enemies judged. The High Priest is crowned, apparently with the feeling that the Messianic Kingdom is now to appear and he is to be the Messiah. For two years the prophet is silent, then comes again to reaffirm Jehovah's passion for His chosen people as the pledge of the enthronement of Jerusalem to be the spiritual head of the world.

That like ours was a time of reconstruction. All the institutions of ancient Israel were to be reëstablished, all their laws rewritten and all their ideals adapted to the new situation. Shall we have the wisdom of Haggai and Zechariah that will recognize religion as the most vital, the deepest, the most determining factor in personal and

social life? Will we undertake to give it the place these men gave it? Will we have the courage to organize business in recognition of the supremacy of the spirit? Will man or the machine be on top? Unless the Spirit of Jesus Christ takes possession of the forces of reconstruction, and of the coming social order, all our fighting will go for little. The religion of the new day must take possession of the whole life. These reformers would plead for an adequate expression of religion in our social institutions.

There are at least two great lessons for us in the work of these two men of God. First, they give us a call to make the material side of our religious life an expression of the spiritual values we wish to conserve. A thing cannot be Christian and be shoddy, if one knows how to make it otherwise. Church buildings, church furnishings, the materials of worship, parsonage, the institutions, such as orphanages, colleges, hospitals, social settlements, indeed any building, machinery or enterprise that is an expression of Christian sentiment, must express that sentiment adequately. He hath made everything beautiful. Our architecture is, much of it, little less than a crime. It does not represent the Christian ideal. It comes out of the Middle Ages with the superstitions and misconceptions of that time still clinging to it. Let us hope for the coming of a master who will eliminate the excrescences and misinterpretations of even our best church architecture and give us in reality the beautiful spirit of Jesus done in stone.

Build perfectly but do not depend on your building. The magnificent cathedrals in Mexico and other catholic countries attest the limits of art as a preacher of the Gospel. There are some things machinery cannot do. How tragic that poverty and filth, superstition and vice, ignorance and ignominy, live together under the shadow of these glorious structures. How tragic that depraved priests should minister at those gorgeous altars, to

debauching people, all alike without God, without ideals and without hope in the world!

These reformers were right. Religion is basal; basal in social as well as in individual life. Take God out of the atmosphere of our country and our institutions will crumble.

"Religion's all or nothing; it's no mere smile
O' contentment, sigh of aspiration, sir—
No quality o' the finelier-tempered clay
Like its whiteness or its lightness; rather, stuff
O' the very stuff, life of life, and self of self."

III

MALACHI: The Kind of Religion That Counts. (460 B. C.)

The history of Israel was one long series of brilliant hopes followed by disillusionment. When the exiles returned and rebuilt the Temple and renewed the ritual service, it was expected they would enjoy a new heaven and a new earth with prosperity and plenty on every hand; but it did not turn out so, and when the disillusionment came, the enthusiasm kindled by Haggai and Zechariah waned and indifference and worldliness followed. God was indifferent. Righteousness was of no avail. Why should they take religion too seriously?

This was the condition when an anonymous prophet, whom we call Malachi (My Messenger) appeared. The Jewish community was under a Persian ruler who dealt rather favorably with them, so that they had no particular grievance against outside nations. Marriages with heathen and half-heathen women of the land were common. The temple tax was neglected; moral and religious laxness prevailed from the Priests down; depression and discontent were abroad; poor crops, instead of the rich abundance promised. The returning

pilgrims upon the reëstablishment of the ritual found only distress. Such is the general situation described in the book. It fits closely into the period of Nehemiah.

The exact date is impossible to determine. Scholars differ as to whether it belongs before the coming of Ezra, before the mission of Nehemiah, or shortly before or shortly after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem. Perhaps 460 is reasonably correct.

Malachi is unlike the older prophets in style, being more prosaic and more appreciative of ritual. His method is Socratic, giving questions and answers rather than sustained argument.

His spirit is of the prophetic type. His task is to rekindle faith in the flagging hearts of a discouraged people. He pleads for the religion that counts.

That religion is first of all based upon the love of God for us. "I have loved you," saith Yahweh. This is the only satisfying foundation to build upon—our love for God, our love for men, any emotion, indeed, is too evanescent and uncertain. Mere truth is too cold. Action may proceed from without, but when we are anchored in the changeless love of the Infinite we are secure.

It calls out the response due a father by a son. The son honoreth his father and a servant his master. "If, then, I am a Father, where is my honor, and if I am a Master, where is my fear?"

Such response makes the offering of polluted or defective gifts impossible. It makes the perfunctory spirit impossible also.

The religion that counts expresses itself in noble leadership. Of the Priest, Malachi says, "The law of truth was in his mouth, and unrighteousness was not found in his lips: he walked with me in peace and uprightness, and turned many away from iniquity. For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of Jehovah of hosts." "This is a conception of the

importance and dignity of the priesthood that is unsurpassed, if it be ever equaled elsewhere in the Old Testament." Truly such men are the conscience of the people.

The religion that counts recognizes all men as children of a common Father and brothers to each other. Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? It therefore keeps a brotherly attitude toward all men. "Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, profaning the covenant of our fathers?"

Such religion does not hold tears to be a sufficient atonement for sin. "Ye cover the altar of Jehovah with tears, with weeping and with sighing, insomuch that He regardeth not the offering any more, neither receiveth it with good will at your hand." The straightening out of moral defects is necessary, tears or no tears. This is particularly true with immorality that affects the beautiful relationships of the home. Here loyalty, deep and lasting, is the taproot of life.

The religion that counts understands God's care, is incapable of charging Him with indifference.

It seeks to make each day a preparation for a greater day that is to follow. It has its Elijahs to prepare the way for the completer coming of God into all our life. It is therefore ready for whatever testing process may be necessary.

It supports adequately its own institutions, and does not find its profit in material blessings. Good men may go hungry, bad men may have plenty, those that brought in the tithes may still suffer. The rewards of religion are in the enriching of life itself rather than in material benefits. The process of the spirit brings spiritual results, and while those who conform to spiritual law are better prepared to grapple with the exacting laws of labor, business, and trade, still the ends sought are in the higher realities, where there is no lost good. Trouble comes sooner or later, as it was coming to the Jews

in the time of Malachi, to those who expect material profit for spiritual loyalty; but disappointment can never come to one who follows unflinchingly the upward way, looking here and now first for things that are above. "Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you," announces a law as certain and as dependable as the law of gravitation.

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by-and-by."

The disciples of such an ideal are intensely social in their nature. They speak often one with another because the innermost things of the spirit are too precious to hoard. They are riches that grow richer by being shared. The Master understood this and made special promise to even two or three gathered together in His name. The fellowship of such kindred spirits lifts us above the strife of life and puts a halo over all things earthly.

The religion that counts looks and lives forward and not backward. "Unto you that fear My name shall the sun of righteousness arise, with healing in its wings; and ye shall go forth and gambol as calves of the stall." The day of God, which is yet to come, may mean dis-

tress to others, but it brings freedom and joy to His own.

And finally such religion gives itself to vital missionary effort. Its agents seek to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers in every home, in every land.

IV

ISAIAH 34–35: The Best is yet to be (400 B. C.)

An outburst of apocalyptic passion is imbedded in the heart of Isaiah (34-35). The nations are summoned to hear their doom and the picture of the cruelty to be inflicted upon them is not unlike the stories out of the European War. Yahweh hath a Day of Vengeance, a year of recompense for the cause of Zion, and this ven geance visits desolation and ruin upon all the nations round about, upon Edom in particular.

Then comes a beautiful vision of the wilderness and the dry land made glad, the desert rejoicing and blossoming as the rose. Human ills are to be removed; men and nature renewed; the way of holiness opened up in which even fools can walk without erring; and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

It is delightful to find in the arid areas of 400 B. C. the stream of religious experience bursting forth in such a gladdening prospect as this:

"The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of Jehovah, the excellency of our God.

"Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come *with* ven-

geance, *with* the recompense of God; he will come and save you.

"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall a lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water: in the habitation of the jackals, where they lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes. And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The Way of Holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for *the redeemer:* the wayfaring men, yea fools, shall not err *therein.* No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast go up thereon; they shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk *there:* and the ransomed of Jehovah shall return, and come with singing into Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

V

ZECHARIAH 9–14: Foundations of Permanent Peace

(300–250 B. C.)

In passing from the eighth chapter of Zechariah to the ninth, we leave one atmosphere, one world, and enter another. It is impossible for an intelligent reader not to feel the difference. How can we account for it? Scholars find reason to believe that here, as in other books of the prophets, the second part is from a different hand. Professor Mitchell gives at length ("International Critical Commentary") the data upon which this conclusion rests.

First, there are no dates in the last six chapters and no reference to any person or event by which a date can be

fixed, while the first eight chapters are carefully dated. The first person is not used here as in the first eight chapters. There are no visions here. As to literary form, the first eight chapters are rather monotonous prose, only now and then becoming spasmodically rhythmical, while the second part, with probable lost words restored, becomes a section of double tristics, not wholly unlike Second Isaiah. We have here therefore an elaborate poem of which Zechariah seems to have been incapable. The forms of expression characteristic of the first part do not recur in the last six chapters under similar circumstances, and vice versa. The vocabulary is different. Zechariah repeatedly refers to "the former prophets"; chapters 9 to 14 do not, although the points of contact with other books are much more numerous. The author does not seem to know anything about Haggai. There are fewer passages parallel with Micah, Jeremiah and Second Isaiah; about as many as from Amos and First Isaiah; but twice as many from Hosea and almost three times as many from Ezekiel. Job is referred to twice and Deuteronomy three times. There is a different conception of God, whose will in the first eight chapters is made known through angels, while He hides Himself from human eyes. In the second part God appears suddenly to rescue His people from the terrific blow. The nations named—Damascus, Hamath, Gilead, Assyria and Egypt—had no touch with the Jews between 520 and 516 B. C. The peaceful atmosphere of the first part is changed to one of war, in the second part; the bitterness of feeling toward outsiders is intense in the second part. Nations are gathered to the little town of Jerusalem and overthrown at sight of Yahweh, while in the first eight chapters things are expected to go on as usual under the Persian king. The cruelty and extravagance of the second part is absent from the first part. The Messianic kingdom portrayed in the first part is to extend from the land of Hadrak in the north

to the desert south of Gaza, while in the second part it extends only from Geba on the north to Rimmon on the south, *i. e.*, in the former part the author claims everything ever promised them, while in the second Judah's territory alone is promised. In chapters 1–8, the head of the kingdom is to be Zerubbabel, then on the ground, while in 9, 1–10, he has not yet appeared and will not come until the country is subdued for him. Zechariah promises his people only such peace and prosperity as will allow long happy lives, but the promises of the second part are fantastic, all nature being involved. The ethical standards of the first part are higher than in the second where there are no ethical precepts. Ceremonial cleanness is emphasized in the second part; "Holy unto Yahweh" is to be put even upon the bells of the horses.

These are in substance the reasons for assuming different authorship for the two divisions of the book.

But the question remains, is the whole of the second part by the same pen? Here again both the substance and the style are quite dissimilar. Chapters 9 to 11, with 13:7–9 added, seem to be a unit. What date does its background suggest? Some scholars think pre-exilic, because the northern kingdom is spoken of as still existing and in friendly relations with Judah. Egypt and Assyria, whither Israel will be taken into captivity, are contemporary. Teraphim and diviners suggest pre-exilic conditions. The nations threatened are the ones mentioned by Amos. The author would therefore be a contemporary of Amos and Hosea. Chapters 12 to 14, without 13:7–9, are also a unit, and are thought by some to be pre-exilic on the basis of the reference to mourning for King Josiah in the last years of the kingdom (608–586).

Recent scholarship, on the other hand, is increasingly disposed to place both sections late in the post-exilic period. The captivity is presupposed. No reference is

made to a Davidic king in Jerusalem. Great emphasis is placed upon worship and feasts in Jerusalem in the Messianic Age. The priests are prominent. The Greeks are mentioned as Israel's most formidable enemies.

We have, set forth in these six chapters, the foundations upon which permanent peace must rest.

First of all a new type of leadership. The leader is to be, not a man of the sword, arrogant, selfish, given to display, merciless toward his enemies, exacting toward his clients, using the trappings of power, with whom might is right. He is to be, rather, righteous, saved by the touch of a Higher Power, lowly, unpretentious, without the insignia of war, a man of peace, though he may have to fight to secure it, proclaiming peace to the nations, exercising quiet dominion from sea to sea; himself trained in the school of suffering, he is to be the servant of his age. His ideals must be spiritual and the means upon which he relies for their enforcement also spiritual.

The coming of this new leader involves, of course, the overthrow of the old, of the shepherds of the people who feed upon them instead of feeding them, who offer them up as sacrifices to their own selfish ambitions and interests. The State came into existence by one tribe going out and conquering another and bringing them into servitude. History is a long story of the strong feeding upon the weak, offering them up on the altar of their own greed. War has been mainly the few sacrificing the many. The prevailing nationalism sets one group over against another in a struggle for the ascendency. All this must pass and a new way be found for distributing the products of our industry.

The old religious leader, with his dogmatism, with his external authority, his narrow sectarianism, his professional airs, must go also. It would be useless to fight against autocracy abroad and practice it at home. Democracy must prevail. The new passion for reality must sweep away those forms and ceremonies, those

institutions as well, which are unvital. The true prophet must take charge and, if possible, save the people, even in spite of themselves.

The two symbols of his office are to be delight and union—delight indicating first of all God's good will toward His people and as a consequence the good will of people toward each other—union indicating the finding of points of agreement and emphasizing them, the embracing indeed of the moral and spiritual forces under one universal redemptive purpose. The barbed wire fences that divide must be cut away and the whole area of the religious life made over for concerted action in the interests of social betterment.

We have been sinning together. Our community ideals have tolerated things that are insufferable, encouraged things that are immoral. Great fortunes have been built up by methods of piracy; graft has been all too common. Powerful organizations have found devious ways by which not only to escape the law but to use it for their own advantage. Our commerce and industry, our business and toil have centered in the dollar rather than in the man and has not seldom forgotten to be human. There has been opened up a fountain for sin and uncleanliness. We have been going wrong as a community, and as a community must come to the mourner's bench. President Wilson in his first inaugural address made this prophetic call. God will bring us out of this baptism of blood, let us hope, a purified people, more zealous for works of good will for all the world.

Though this be a day of gloom, at evening-time there shall be light.

This can come, however, only upon condition that we shall realize in our personal experiences, as well as in our social readjustments, that God is king over all the earth and must have sway everywhere. There is salvation in no other.

VI

JOEL: Economic and Civic Aspects of Religion (350 B. C.).

The little Book of Joel raises about all the critical questions involved in the interpretation of the Old Testament. For example:

Is the book a unit? There are those who deny it, because of the difference of interest and subject-matter and the difference in style between the first two chapters and the last two. The first two, they claim, treat of a locust plague and a drought as disciplinary punishment of the Jews; the last two treat of the final judgment of the nations and the protection and the glory of the Jews. The passages of the first part which refer to judgment are supposed to be interpolations: 1:15, 2:1b–2, 2:10–11, 2:6 and 2:20. The second section, except 4:9–14, is not up to the level of the first. It is supposed that the interpolator who worked over part one, worked over part two, also, adding 3:4b, 4:17a, 4:2b.3, 4:18–21, 3:4b–5, 4:4–8. Whether there is a difference of interest and subject-matter between the two parts depends upon what the theme of the book is; if it is Yahweh, then there is a logical movement through both. The evidence submitted is not sufficient to cause us to break it up. Most of the passages in question are probably quotations from other Prophets, with which, of course, Joel would be familiar.

The course of thought is logical, despite possible insertions. A picture of the land desolate and mourning because of the locust plague and drought, is drawn first. The Prophet views the visitation as a call to national humiliation and repentance, because it is to him a harbinger of the Day of Yahweh, now impending with overpowering violence from the "Over-Power." Then follows a fuller description of the signs of the approach

of the awful day. Yahweh is leading on a terrible army, like an army of locusts. The darkened heavens, the roaring thunder, the trembling earth, are tokens of His rapid approach. It is not yet too late. Repentence might avert the disaster. Then there is a pause. And Yahweh answers His people's prayer with material blessings, followed by the outpouring of the prophetic spirit upon even the common servants and handmaidens, so that when the Day of Yahweh finally comes its terrors will light on Israel's foes, and that judgment is described. A digression describes the special doom of certain special enemies of the Jews. Then the final crisis, the destruction of the nations, the eternal sanctity and security of Jerusalem with Yahweh in Zion, is pictured.

The Background of the Book

There are silences that are significant. There is no reference to the Syrians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Babylonians or the Persians—all world powers with which the Jews were long in touch. There is no mention of the Northern Kingdom nor of the Ten Tribes, the author's interest being confined to Judah and Jerusalem, Israel being the name of the oppressed people. There is no reference to king, prince or high priest, elders and priests being the officials.

He mentions Tyre, Sidon, Phillistines, Greeks, Sabeans, Egypt and Edom. Tyre and Sidon and all Philistia had taken the treasures of the Jews and carried them into their temples, and had sold their sons in slavery to the Greeks. The Jews would yet sell their sons to the Sabeans.

Yahweh's heritage is scattered among the nations, and is a reproach. The Valley of Jehoshaphat is mentioned, called, presumably, after the name of the King. A terrible scourge of locusts has just passed. The community is so small that a public meeting can be called

by a trumpet blown in Zion. The Northerner is mentioned, but the meaning is not clear.

There is no civic ideal, apart from the cult. Slavery is accepted. Monogamy is assumed. There is no class stratification. The people live in houses with windows. There is at least one walled city. Drunkenness is the only moral evil designated.

The people are supported by agriculture and by pasturing herds and flocks. Barns, wine presses and oil vats, pruning hooks, sickles, ploughshares, threshing floors, wheat, barley, "grain," palms, pomegranates, apples, figs, all pass in review. So do flocks, herds and beasts of the field. There is little, if any, suggestion of commerce or trading, except among slave dealers. Manufacturing is confined to the implements of agriculture and of war.

The only reference to education is the teaching of the children the terrors of the plague.

The Temple is standing. The Priests are the ministers of Yahweh. The Elders are important. The cessation of the ritual performances is held to be a direful calamity. The fast is highly regarded. Religious rites are the center of community life. Idolatry is not referred to; nor is the Law. The idea of holiness attaches to the city and to the Temple. When finally renewed, no stranger shall pass through them. Community religion is strong. Meetings are important.

Yahweh is in immediate control of nature and uses its forces at will. Repentence may change the course of nature. He is the God of Israel, yet determines the destinies of other nations. He is righteous, rewarding and avenging His peculiar people. Sin is made little of. A square deal seems to be the social ideal. Pandering among foreigners is practiced. There is no recognition of international ethics. Community repentence and community worship are inculcated. Redemption is materialistic deliverance from material ills, yet after

the return of prosperity, spiritual religion is to prevail.

The Literary Relationships of the Book

Literary relationships with Ezekiel, Isaiah, Zephaniah, Obadiah, Nahum, Psalms, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Kings, Numbers, Micah, Amos and Malachi are indicated, Joel probably quoting in the main, using, also, words and phrases current in later Judaism.

The Date

All these considerations place the book either before 800 or after 500 B. C., with increasing certainty that it is to be dated about the middle of the fourth century.

Literary Characteristics

Is Joel written in prose or poetry? The slighest study of the text shows that it is poetry, reaching as high as seven, if not ten, lines to the stanza, making at least a decastich. His meter is easily discoverable. Hexameters, pentameters, tetrameters, etc., all occur without any apparent order of sequence.

He makes rhythm express the changing moods of his message. His most characteristic movement is the staccato beat of the tetrameter, which he uses with telling effect. Notice how beautifully appropriate is the quick movement of the lines in 2:7–9, where the rapid, orderly march of the army of locusts is described:

"Like warriors they run, like soldiers they advance,
They march each in his own way, and do not entangle
their paths."

Observe how well he accentuates the terseness of the lines in the description of the ravages of the locusts:

"That which the shearer has left, the swarmer has eaten,
And that which the swarmer has left, the lapper has eaten,
And that which the lapper has left, the finisher has eaten!" (1:4)

See how the stirring effect is heightened in the preparation for war:

"Proclaim this among the nations:
Consecrate war, arouse the mighty men!" (4:9)

The staccato movement used to describe the rapid and terrible march of the army of locusts in 2:7–11, changes to the hexameter, to express the pleading tones of Yahweh's appeal in 2:12–14:

"Yet even now, is Yahweh's oracle, turn unto me with all your heart,
With fasting and weeping and mourning, but rend your hearts and not your garments!"

Joel, along with the other Hebrew poets, used such devices as rhythm, assonance, alliteration, onamatopœia. All the lines of verses from six to ten of the first chapter rhyme, except the second line in the sixth verse.

Word-play is found in many places. Of the first section of the book, George Adam Smith says:

"Letter for letter, this is one of the heaviest passages in prophecy. The proportion in Hebrew of the liquids to the other letters is not large, but here it is smaller than ever. The explosives and dentals are very numerous. There are several keywords, with hard consonants and long vowels, used again and again: Shuddadh, 'tbhaah, 'ümlal, hôbhîsh. The longer lines into which Hebrew parallelism tends to run are replaced by a series of short, heavy phrases, falling like blows. Critics have called it rhetoric. But it is rhetoric of a high order and

perfectly suited to the prophet's purpose. Look at chapter 1:10: Shuddadh, sadheh, 'ābhlah 'adhamah, shuddadh daghan, hôbhîsh tîrôsh, Iumlal yiṣḥar. Joel loads his clauses with the most leaden letters he can find, and drops them in quick succession, repeating the same heavy word again and again, as if he would stun the careless people into some sense of the bare, brutal calamity which has befallen them."

What type of poetry is the poem as a whole? The Drama is defined as "A composition in prose or poetry accommodated to action, intended to portray life or character or to tell a story by actions and, usually, dialogue tending toward some result directly based upon them; a play. It is designed or composed as though to be performed by actors on the stage." The Hebrew mind was subjective. It lived on the things of the spirit and was at its best only when expressing inward experience of its own. It could not adequately describe the experiences of others, and it could not transfer itself from one world to another without carrying over its own subjective atmosphere. Hence, the presenting of dramatic action in telling form was beyond its reach. Job is the nearest we have to this achievement. Yet there are those who refuse to call it drama because of the paucity of action and movement. The Song of Songs is denied a place in dramatic literature. Yet both have so many marks of the drama that I am disposed to class them as such. But Joel could not possibly be so classed.

Is it epic? There is no "central hero whose exploits or fortunes are the thread of the discourse." Job has been called the "Epic of the Inner Life."

Is it a lyric, or a collection of lyrics? There are not a few of the strophes, or stanzas, that are easily set to music and sung and that are expressive of the poet's feelings, but it is prevailingly "descriptive of outward incident or event." So that, while there are lyrics here, it could be hardly so named as a whole.

Shall we call it, then, a collection of odes? These short poems, "suited to be set to music or sung," typically characterized by varying length of time and complexity of stanza forms are, as a whole, "not expressive of sustained noble sentiment with appropriate dignity of style." "If flight be the regular image for the movement of lyric poetry," says Moulton, "the ode is the song that can soar the highest and remain longest on the wing." "Speaking generally," he continues, "we may say that it may be distinguished from other lyrics by greater elaboration and (so to speak) structural consciousness."

While there may be passages in Joel of the character here described, we can hardly find one type that fully describes this poem. Nor can we call it a Sonnet.

Shall we call it an idyl? While its imagery is pastoral to a degree, it is not a "little picture in verse" like Ruth, which is "simple, calm, more concerned with situation than with action."

Is it to be interpreted allegorically or literally? The general concensus of opinion understands it to be literal.

Joel the Man

We do not know anything about the facts of the author's life, beyond his father's name, yet his general characteristics are revealed in part in the Book. His name is a confession of Faith: "Yahweh is God." This suggests devout parentage and careful religious training. This is not so virile as the challenge in Elijah's name: "My God is Yahweh!"

His interest was entirely Judean. If Israel was still in existence, he did not feel responsible for their welfare. Whether he lived in Jerusalem is not certain. He evidently knew all that was going on there.

He has not the old time consciousness of sin, although such a consciousness is present. He feels the strong

blows inflicted because of sin. He believes in united prayer. Even the forces of nature can be reached through Yahweh. He is a devout ritualist and a veritable high churchman, but he believes in ritual not as a substitute for, but as an expression of, our religious life. Repentance must tear the heart and not the garments. He feels the terrors of famine in the country and is strongly sympathetic with his countrymen and powerfully moved by their cries. He believes in an economic background congenial to efficient religion. He feels the glory of the common man, and believes in his place in society, expecting him yet to come to his own.

He was a poet rather than a prophet. He saw and felt the world of reality. His æsthetic life is strong. He lived in the world of the beautiful. His eye for details was wonderful. Living close to the people, he voiced in exquisite rhythmics trains the deeper realities of their lives.

The smooth, even-flowing movement of his beautiful lines tells of great care as a writer and deep rhythmic life as a man.

His Message

Joel, suffering with his people from the devastations of a locust plague, which he describes vividly, urges the assembling of all classes to call upon God to avert a further calamity, which he terms "The Day of Yahweh." He then idealizes the locusts and describes them graphically as an invading army, which can be averted by turning to God. Yahweh will hear, and prosperity will return with the returning relief and rains, after which even servants will receive the spirit of Yahweh. He foresees the coming of Yahweh and urges preparedness. The climax is reached in the gathering of multitudes—"multitudes in the valley of decision"—to be destroyed, while the Jew is enthroned under God.

There are some exceedingly modern notes in the book.

While we may not accept his view of the locusts and the drought as a result of sin, we are feeling a need for a spiritual interpretation of nature, which is but God unfolding Himself in material form.

His call for community repentance of community sins—violations of economic laws, the using of technicalities to inflict wrong upon our brethren—might have been written today.

It is remarkable that he promises a revival of religion after the return of material prosperity and that that revival would give even slaves a spiritual endowment for the tasks of daily living. The Spirit of God, in the Old Testament, was up to this time thought to be a special gift to special men, or heroes, for specific services. The architect of Solomon's Temple was said to have had it; Samson was made strong by it. Gideon prepared to fight. It had not yet been conceived of as an equipment for daily experiences. The time will come when the common man will have it, but that time has not yet arrived. Peter said that was the meaning of Pentecost.

We are only now learning the importance of right economic conditions as necessary to the efficient religious life. It is difficult to be pious when one's children are crying for bread. Pinching poverty must be driven out before the full tide of spiritual prosperity can come in. The Divine Element in our everyday life is destined to gain in power until it shall wipe out, with irretrievable doom, those agencies which have been preying upon the spirit.

The last note in his appeal is for political freedom as a condition of permanent religious freedom and hope. It is only after national oppressors have been destroyed that God is to dwell in Zion.

These, then, are the words this ancient poet would speak to us today across the intervening centuries. He would plead for a spiritual interpretation of nature, for community repentance of community sins, for the crea-

tion of a socialized world. He promises a Divine element in the most commonplace life, equipping us for the discharge of the most commonplace duties. He warns against unbrotherliness by portraying for us the Nemesis that waits for those who violate the holy relationships between man and man, and finally, he makes civil and political freedom necessary to efficiency.

VII

ISAIAH 24–27: "THY DEAD SHALL LIVE" (170 B. C.)

We have here first of all a picture of universal judgment. Over wide areas devastation and ruin prevail. The Jews are scattered over the earth, poor, distressed and helpless. They are politically dependent, have no king of their own and seem to look up to the priest as of the highest rank. This would fit a late post-exilic period.

So would the circle of ideas revealed in the book. The physical resurrection of the individual points to the time of Daniel (165 B. C.). Death is to be abolished. The heavenly hosts are to be imprisoned. War in heaven is expected. The two leviathans and the dragon will be in conflict. Yahweh's enthronement in Zion, the nation's violators of the eternal covenant, the great trumpet that is to call the elect, the Jews' righteous indignation—all these together suggest a very late date.

The style and language are post-exilic. Here we have then a picture of wide-extended judgment out of which comes Yahweh's redeemed people, joined even by the dead, reanimated, saved by God for whom they have waited to establish a new social order. Songs to be sung by them are scattered through the passage.

This is the old, old story. Distress and devastation do not dry up the stream of life, but gushing forth out of

the desert wastes, it hurries on to the renewal of all things. Let none lose heart therefore. Though we are hurled into the night, it will be sunrise everywhere tomorrow.

VIII

DANIEL: Inviolate Faith Invincible (168–165 B. C.)

In order to appreciate fully the Book of Daniel, it is necessary to understand the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria. In about 172 B. C., he got into trouble with Egypt over the possession of Palestine. For three or four years they were at each other's throats. Becoming suspicious of the Jews, he sacked Jerusalem, massacred or enslaved large numbers of its inhabitants, robbed and desecrated the Temple. He now determined to extirpate the Anti-Helenistic party, because he suspected them of sympathizing with Egypt. The greater his troubles with Egypt, the greater his determination to convert or destroy everybody supposed to be out of line with his desire to consolidate the Syrian state by establishing a common civilization. Bitter presecution of the Jews followed; many were martyred. The practicing of their ritual and the keeping of their Bible were forbidden on penalty of death. Everybody was commanded to worship the Emperor, upon whose coin the words "God Manifest" were stamped. This might mean but little to other people who already had more than one God, but it was impossible for the Jew who was a monotheist. The crisis was finally precipitated when Appelles, a royal officer, came to Modein, a small town upon the Judean hills, and ordered all the inhabitants to join in a sacrifice to the King. Among those who came were Mattathias and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazear, and Jonathan. The royal officer tried to get Mattathias to lead in the sacrifice and prom-

ised that the Government would take care of him, whereupon Mattathias killed the Jew who was attempting to offer sacrifice, his sons tore down the altar and the entire family fled to the mountains. They were soon joined by loyal brethren, and the Maccabean War started, war waged by the Syrians for the specific purpose of destroying the Jewish religion. It was a noble struggle on the part of the Jews for the right to life, liberty, and, the pursuit of happiness.

One result of this War was the calling out of new religious books, among them several of the Psalms, and most notable of all, the Book of Daniel, written for the purpose of encouraging faithful souls to stand fast in their integrity loyal to the traditions of their fathers. The author takes an ancient story of Daniel at the Persian Court and fits it into this hour. Daniel and his three friends are tempted to eat food held unclean, but refused and stood the test of physical excellence better than all those who ate the food. The King dreams a dream that none of his interpreters can explain. Daniel is called and without difficulty makes it clear. The King makes a great feast dedicating an image. At a given signal the crowd is expected to fall down and worship. Three Hebrews refuse and are put into the fiery furnace, but escape unhurt. A royal decree is issued declaring God's kingdom to be universal. The King has another dream which is interpreted also by Daniel. A great royal feast is in progress, when a hand writes a sentence of doom upon the wall. Its meaning, unknown to the astonished crowd, is given by Daniel who is made the third ruler in the kingdom. Jealousy arises and a plot follows. A decree is issued forbidding everybody to pray to any God except the King for thirty days, upon penalty of being cast into the den of lions. Daniel, with full knowledge, deliberately disobeys and suffers the penalty, but again escapes unhurt, because he had trusted in God. His accusers and their families were all fed to the lions.

King Darius decrees that men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, whose kingdom is steadfast forever, who delivers and rescues, working signs and wonders in heaven and on earth.

Then in the seventh chapter begins Daniel's vision revealing in four symbolic beasts successions of world powers culminating in the Kingdom of God established forever. The first beast seems to mean Babylon; the second, the Kingdom of the Medes; the third, the Kingdom of Persia; the fourth, the Greek Empire and Antiochus IV.; after that, the Judgment; then the Son of Man appears who is given rulership over all nations forever. These are followed by perplexed question and answers. Two years later, Daniel has another vision, in which the ram symbolizes the Medes and Persians; the goat, Greece, with its great horn, Alexander, and little horn, Antiochus. The vision is then interpreted. An explanation is sought to be made in enigmatical numbers of the unfulfilled prophesy of Jeremiah, that the captivity would be over in seventy years. These figures, like all enigmas, were probably understood by the initiated, but critics are not able with assurance to fix their exact meaning. This much we can be sure of; that they refer to a difficult situation of that time and were an attempt at the solution of a distressing problem then pressing upon the people. They make no concrete reference to any period of history then future. Antiochus IV. is the central target at which the author is aiming. The troubles in the world are explained as due to disturbances in the upper realm among angels and other supernatural beings. These disturbances are expressing themselves in the stirring history of that tragic hour.

A part of the book is written in Aramaic. The symbols used are familiar to the Oriental student, many of them appearing among the bas-reliefs and tablets of Babylonia and Persia. The author is unknown, but belongs to the troublous times and is involved in the

distressing conditions at the beginning of the Maccabean struggle.

While the details of the book are difficult, its message is clear. Its first plea is for loyalty to self. Whether the young Hebrews ate tabooed food contrary to their law; whether Daniel prayed with open window, or whether, indeed, he prayed at all; whether the three Hebrew children fell down with the crowd and worshipped the idol—these were questions of small moment to others. Why not eat foreign food with mental protest? Why not bow down with the body, while the spirit defies the world? Why not pray in secret? To do this would mean for these Jews self-desecration, would have meant the profaning, the defiling of the inmost self. Thomas Nelson Page tells a beautiful story of an old Confederate soldier given to drink who periodically got into trouble, but was regularly helped out, rallying every time when the debauch was over, but at last in an evil hour he pawned his gray jacket that had been through all the years the rallying point of his manhood. He then lost his grip upon himself and went down to rally no more. He was a brave man until he desecrated himself, and then it was all over. The Book of Daniel sought to say to the persecuted Jews: the fire never was kindled that can burn the loyal soul; the lion never roared that can reach the faithful—such are inviolate.

Such are also invincible. The powers of evil will exhaust themselves. The world machine will grind itself out. God's people can afford to wait. There was no outlook for them to the mere human eye, but to the faithful that venture upon the ancient promise of God, all things work together finally for good. "The opposite of faith is not doubt, but timidity." These were a mere handful of people hounded over the world without resources and without friends. Yet the future belonged to them. They would survive empires, races,

and nations. The ideas for which they stood were destined to rule the world. There was an invincible hand that moved the kingdoms of this world about like so many chessmen on a board. Huxley said life was a game of chess, only we cannot see the man playing on the other side. These Hebrews saw him and knew He was playing not against them but for them. It did not matter much whether he was on their side. It mattered a great deal whether they were on His. Though He may not always seem to rule, He does always overrule. He has the last move. And His is the last word. They were and could afford to be patient until the game was played out, when each for himself should realize the promise: 'Thou shalt rest and shalt stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

PART SIX

THE TEXT AND THE CANON

I

The Text

"The following list gives the number of known Hebrew manuscripts in existence with the names of libraries or private owners possessing them. The dates in parentheses are those of the printed catalogues of the collections.

England

Bodleian, Oxford (1886)	2,541
E. N. Adler	1,476
British Museum (1893)	1,196
Cambridge University	762
Jews' College (1903)	580
Beth-Hamedrash (1884)	147
C. D. Ginsburg	80
Trinity College, Cambridge	29
Christ Church, Oxford	13

France and Switzerland

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (1866)	1,313
Baron Günzburg	900
Basel	20
Bern	20
Nîmes	15
Lyons	12
Elsewhere	9

Russia

St. Petersburg	880
Friedlandiana	300

Germany and Austria-Hungary

Munich (1897)	408
Hamburg (1878)	355
Berlin (1897)	259
Vienna (1847)	257
Breslau Seminary	190
Strasburg (1881)	51
Leipsic, Ratsbibliothek (1838)	43
Erfurt (1863)	17
Budapest Seminary	12
Geiger (Hochschule), Berlin	12

Italy

Parma (1803, 1880)	1,634
Vatican, Rome (1756)	580
Turin (1874)	294
Mantua (1878)	178
Florence	130
Angelica, Rome (1878)	54
Bologna (1887)	28
Victorio Emanuele, Rome (1878)	28
Modena	27
Venice (1886)	19

Spain and Portugal	
Escurial	75
Toledo	42
Elsewhere	27
United States	
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York	750
Columbia University	100
Sutro, San Francisco	135
Holland and Scandinavia	
Leyden (1858)	116
Upsala (1893)	38
Rosenthal	32
Copenhagen (1846)	16
Lund (1850)	6

Besides these there are other collections not yet catalogued; some in private hands, *e. g.*, those of Dr. M. Gaster of London, and of the late D. Kaufman, at Budapest, others in public libraries, as, for example, the Alliance Israelite Library. The fragments of the Cairo Genizah, numbering many thousands, and scattered in Cambridge, Oxford, London, and Paris, are not included. Many libraries, as the Bodleian and Bibliothèque Nationale, have received notable accessions since their catalogues were printed." (The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, page 315.)

The oldest collection is that in the Imperial Library of Petrograd, formerly in the Odessa Biblical Society Library. There are 146 in this collection, including the Pentateuch manuscript brought from Derband, which is said to have been written 604 A. D. It consists of 45 skins, 226 columns and is composed of six pieces. The oldest complete dated manuscript in book form in existence is here. It is dated 916, A. D. It consists of 225 folios, each divided lengthwise into two columns with twenty-one lines to the column. The oldest in the British Museum is the Masoretic Bible written, it is claimed, about 820–850. It contains the Pentateuch and consists of 186 folios, 55 of which were at one time missing but have been added by a later hand. The oldest in the Bodleian Library is dated 1104. The oldest in Cambridge is believed to belong to the tenth century. The oldest in the National Library in Paris goes

back to 1286. The oldest in the Adler Collection is dated in the ninth century, the oldest in Vienna, in the tenth.

The Pentateuch of the Malabar Jews is now in England. Samaritan manuscripts of the Pentateuch are to be found in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Petrograd, Palma, and Vatican Libraries. It is claimed that while the temple was still standing there were standard Codices of the Pentateuch kept there as models for accuracy. When the manuscripts were worn out they were kept from profanation by being buried in the coffins of dead scribes. Consequently there are none in existence very old.

The first materials used in writing were stone, metal and wood. Papyrus was used as far back as the late Tolomaic or early Roman period in Egypt. The skins of animals were used, the hair being rubbed away and the hairy side written upon. Leather and fine vellum appear among the oldest manuscripts. Paper was known to the Chinese at a very early period. The Arabs are said to have learned to use it in the middle of the eighth century.

The manuscripts were all written with great care according to prescribed rules. About the seventh century a system of punctuation was invented called the masora, to preserve the traditional pronunciation. Copyists were so scrupulous that they copied even errors. If a letter was made too small or too large, it was reproduced. If left out it was inserted, as we would insert with a caret. If repeated it was written and a dot over it showed that it was to be left out in reading. There were various writings in many places and marginal notes indicate that another word was to be substituted for the one in the text. The vowels attached to the word to be omitted are those of the word to be read and not its own vowels. The new word is given in the margin with the notation, "keri or kere" (read

thou or read). These marginal writings are of various kinds. The difference between the text and the margin often turns upon points of a purely formal character, such as varieties of orthography, punctuation, gramatical form. Others were designed to soften expressions, which they thought were not decorous to be read aloud, while a small proportion of them make a change in sense and are either critical conjectures or readings which once must have stood in the text itself. Every possible precaution was taken to preserve the text as it came to the hand of the copyist. The result is that in all these manuscripts we have practically the same text as far back as the Apostles, although it is not certain that any of the manuscripts themselves were extant before the tenth century A. D.

The power of the scribes was in the time of Christ at its height. All life was based upon the law. There must therefore be a correct text of the law. The majority rule prevailed. If a word had two scribes against it and one for it, it was rejected and they changed words they did not like; for example, as Ish-Baal to Ish-Bosheth because they did not want the name of Baal used at all.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the Samaritan Pentateuch was probably carried off by the priest Nehemiah, who had been expelled from the Temple, and made the basis of the life of the Samaritans. This text was written in the old Hebrew characters which were gradually supplanted by the Aramaic letters now in use in Hebrew. The differences between the Samaritan and the regular Hebrew text, while considerable, are not great enough to raise any important questions.

The most valuable translation is the Septuagint. This translation was made to supply the need of the rich Jewish population of Egypt, especially of Alexandria, where many fine synagogues were built. Soon after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Egyptian dialect of the Greek became the language of the people.

This created a need for the Bible in their own tongue. Oral translations were made in the synagogues and before long were written down. The Law was translated, then the Prophets and the Psalms. The other writings were not used in the synagogues and so were left to be translated for private reading later. It was made at intervals probably from the middle of the third century B. C. to the close of the first century B. C. It is not a perfect translation. There were no Hebrew grammars or lexicons in existence, so that some passages were misunderstood. The text was changed in others for dogmatic or traditional reasons, or to make it conform to the ideas of the translators. Still others were changed to clear up ambiguities or to gain the "diffuse fulness" of which they were fond. Still we can use it to decide when the Hebrew text was transposed, added to, taken from or changed.

The use of this translation excited the hostility of the scribes and every effort was put forth to discredit it. In the first half of the second century A. D. Aquila, a pupil of the great Rabbi Akiba, made a very literal translation of the official text. Only fragments of this have been preserved. About the same time another Greek version was made by Theodotian, said by Irenaeus to have been a proselyte of Ephesus. He sought to make the Greek text of the Septuagint conform to the official Hebrew text. Apart from the book of Daniel only fragments remain. About the same time Symmachus, said to have been a Samaritan who turned Jew, translated the O. T. to correct Samaritan errors and make better Greek.

There are also fragments of three other Greek translations. These efforts show widespread dissatisfaction with the Septuagint. Origen (232–254 A. D.) at Cæsarea made an effort to settle the question by establishing a reliable Greek text of the O. T. He brought together in his Hexapla the Hebrew text, the Hebrew

text transliterated into Greek characters, the three versions of Aquila, Theodotian, and Symmachus, and a revised Septuagint text.

Various other translations were made, until at the beginning of the fourth century A. D. there were three rival texts of the Greek Bible in use.

The earlier manuscripts of the Greek Bible are called Uncials, or Majuscules, because they were written in capital letters without accents; the later were called Minuscules because they were written in a smaller hand.

The oldest of the Uncials is the Code Vatican of the fourth century A. D., catalogued B. It contains most of the O. T. and nearly all of the N. T.

"Written in an uncial hand of the fourth century on leaves of the finest vellum made up in quires of five; the lines, which are of 16 to 18 letters, being arranged in three columns containing 42–44 lines each, excepting the poetical Books, where the lines being stichometrical the columns are only two. There are no initial letters, although the first letter of a section occasionally projects into the margin; no breathings or accents occur prima manu, the punctuation if by the first hand is rare and simple. Of the 759 leaves which compose the present quarto volume, 617 belong to the O. T. The first thirty-one leaves of the original codex have been torn away." (Swete.)

The next oldest is the Codex Sinaiticus catalogued, discovered by Tischendorf in 1844–59. It too belongs to the fourth century A. D. It is now in the Royal Library in Petrograd. The story of its discovery is a thrilling one.

"Written in an uncial hand ascribed to the middle of the fourth century, and in lines which when complete contain from 12 to 14 letters and which are arranged in four columns of unusually large leaves of a very fine vellum, made from the skin of the ass or the antelope. The leaves are gathered into quires of four, except two

which contain five. There are no breathings or accents; a simple point is used. In the N. T. the MS. is complete, in the O. T. it is fragmentary." (Swete.)

The third great Uncial is the Codex Alexandrinus, called A. It is now in the British Museum, dating from the fifth century. It was in the possession of the Patriarchs of Alexandria from at least the end of the thirteenth century till it was presented to Charles I of England in 1628. It is the most perfect of the great codices that contain the Septuagint.

"Written in an uncial hand of the middle of the fifth century on vellum of fine texture originally arranged in quires of eight leaves, occasionally (but chiefly at the end of a Book) of less than eight; three of four and twenty letters go to a line, 50 or 51 lines usually compose a column, and there are two columns on a page. Large initial letters, standing in the margin, announce the commencement of a paragraph or section, excepting in vol. iii, which appears to be the work of another scribe. There are no breathings or accents added by the first hand; the punctuation, more frequent than in B, is still confined to a single point. The three volumes which contain the O. T. now consist of 630 leaves. Of these volumes only nine leaves are lost and five mutilated." (Swete.)

The fourth important manuscript of the Greek Bible is the codex Ephraem, C, of the fifth century, now in the National Library of Paris.

"It is a bundle of fragments, preserving three fifths of the original manuscript in the uncial character." It is a palimpsest, *i. e.*, a manuscript of the Bible that had faded or been washed out and a work of Ephraem the Syrian written over it.

The Syriac Version. The O. T. was translated from the Hebrew into the Syriac for the most part in the second Christian century. The official Syriac Bible, called the Peshitto in the west, the Peshitta in the east,

grew out of the older translations into its present form perhaps in the fifth century A. D.

The Latin Vulgate. Jerome, called by Briggs the greatest Biblical scholar of ancient times, gave his life largely to securing a Latin Bible (390–405), called the Vulgate. He used the text of the Scribes and the Greek versions. The most important codices are Amiantinus (716 A. D.) in the Laurentian Library, Florence, and the Toletanus at Toledo (eighth century).

The Targums, translations and paraphrases of the Hebrew in Aramaic. Not later than the second century B. C. Aramaic was so thoroughly the language of the Jews in Palestine, Syria, and the Orient as to require oral translations of the Scriptures as read in the Synagogues so that the people could understand them. A special class of men were developed for this purpose. Their translation was in use in the time of Christ and was probably used by Him and His Apostles. The O. T. was quoted in the New from these Targums. They were modified and improved upon from time to time before they were written down. They do not in all respects conform to the official text of the Scribes, but in some respects represent an earlier text. Some of them go back to the second or third century A. D.

Quotations in the Talmud and the oldest Midrashim, the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and other contiguous literature. Talmud is a term applied to a collection of works embodying the oral Law handed down to the Jews by tradition, in contradistinction to the written Law. The origin of this tradition is unknown. Its commencement may safely be dated back to the Exilic period, in which the Synagogue was established to teach and interpret the Word. It is the forerunner of the Church. The Hebrew term for interpretation is Midrash, which includes also expansion of the Scriptures. It comes from a root which means to inquire into. The Midrashim appear in two forms—the

Halakha, which seeks to find out the exact meaning of the Law—and Haggada, which seeks to draw out from the passage in hand words of inspiration and help by enlarging and applying its meaning. There were schools active in this work of interpretation and expansion extending over many centuries, known by different names, each name designating a different period.

1. The Sopherim, Scribes, commencing with Ezra and extending to the Maccabean period (450–100 B. C.). Little is known in detail of their literary activities. They are said to have originated many other things, the saying of grace after meals, for example.

2. The Zuggoth, Pairs, a name given to the leading teachers that flourished between the Maccabean period and the Herodian (150 B. C. to 30 A. D.). Five such pairs are recorded in the Rabbinic literature, extending over five generations, concluding with Hillel and Shammai. Each pair is said to represent the president and vice president of the Sanhedrin.

3. The Tannaim, Teachers (10 to 200 A. D.), commencing with the schools of Shammai, the staunch conservative, and Hillel, the liberal, whose grandson, Gamaliel was Paul's teacher, and extending in four generations to Rabbi Jehuda, the Patriarch, a great-grandson of Hillel.

The literary productions of all these teachers are, as far as extant, embodied in the Mishna, which is the main depository of the Oral Law. The word suggests repetition and what can be gotten by repetition. It was compiled by Rabbi Jehuda, the Patriarch (220 A. D.), and is divided into six orders, Sedarim, tractates, each tractate into sections, and these sections into paragraphs. There are 63 tractates under the following titles: Seeds, seasons, women, damages, sacred things, purifications. These show the wide range of interest covered.

4. The Amoraim, Speakers, interpreters, the author-

ities who flourished from 220 to 500 and whose chief work was to expound the Mishna. There were two classes of them—the Babylonian and the Palestinian, the former being called Rab, the latter Rabbi. They are classified in five generations. During the third generation (320–370 A. D.) the schools in Palestine declined on account of the religious persecutions under the reign of Constantine. Their literary productions make up the two Talmuds, the Palestinian and the Babylonian. "The main object of these Talmuds is the interpretation of the Mishna, tracing its sources, giving its reasons, explaining obscure passages, as well as real or seeming contradictions by the aid of parallel passages in the Mishnas, illustrating its matter and expounding its contents by giving such cases as life and altered circumstances were constantly furnishing." The text of the Talmud proper as distinguished from the Mishna is called Gemara, supplement or complement to the Mishna.

5. The Saborai. The fifth class of Teachers were the Saborai, explainers, meditators upon the words of their predecessors, whose activity is supposed to have extended over the whole of the sixth century. Their work seems to have been mainly to comment upon the Talmud by means of explanatory speeches, additional controversy and final decisions upon the opinions of their predecessors. They are peculiar to Babylon, Palestine having no corresponding group.

It can easily be seen that scattered all through this mass of material there are quotations from Scripture, which, when carefully examined, will in many cases help to settle doubtful texts. Attention to parallelism, rhythm, meter, often compels changes in the text such as are of value in moving back toward the autograph.

Textual critics begin by working their way back through the Palestinian manuscripts and citations in the later literature to the text of Ben Asher, tenth century

A. D. They then trace back from this text to that of the Sopherim in the second century by using the three streams of Massoretic tradition, the Palestinian, the Babylonian, the Karaite, arranging intervening texts as far as possible by age, beginning with the Arabic version, which is the first back of Ben Ashi, and checking up with the Vulgate which is evidence for the fourth century. The most valuable helps here are the Talmuds and the Midrashim, especially as much of this material antedates the Massoretic text. The consonantal text of the Mishna, which was fixed in the middle of the second century A. D., is substantially ours. Having reached the best conclusions possible as to the text of the Sopherim in the second century, critics work their way back to the Maccabean text through the Targums, the Syriac, citations in the New Testament, the Apocrypha, the Pseudo-epigrapha, Josephus, and Philo. From that Maccabean text through the Septuagint and the Samaritan versions, they seek the text of the law and the Prophets when these were put into the canon.

And finally, having by these successive stages worked our way back as far as possible the results reached at the various points are compared. Parallel passages and versions, citations of earlier writings in later ones, are all carefully examined and this is supplemented by testing the rhythm and meter of poems and making such emendations, additions, elisions and other changes as may be required to restore the marred poetry to its original form—by all these processes the best available text is reached.

This, however, is still very far from the autograph copy. In many cases disturbances are so great as to make a satisfactory text utterly impossible. This fact has its bearing upon a now exploded theory of verbal inspiration. If we are required to have a Bible every word of which is perfect, conveying perfectly the Divine idea, then let us face the fact that we not only have no

such Bible, but we can never have it. Fortunately we are slowly coming to understand that our chief concern should be the vital appreciation of the spirit, the movement of thought, the growth of ideals, the progressive revelation of God to its completion in the Personality of Jesus Christ, and that these are not in the least affected by the dilapidated condition of much of the Old Testament text.

II

First Step in the Making of the Canon (621 B. C.)

"And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah, and of Jerusalem. And the king went up to the house of Jehovah, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of Jehovah. And the king stood by the pillar, and made a covenant before Jehovah, to walk after Jehovah, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and all his soul, to confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book: and all the people stood to the covenant," (II. Kings 23:1–3).

This is the beginning of the long process of canonization which ended in the sixteenth century in the formal designation of the books composing our Bible by the Council of Trent. Israel had had a literature, as we have seen in the earlier divisions of this book, for some three centuries. The great pioneer work of the forerunners of the prophets leading up to those of the eighth century has been traced in some detail, so that a rather extended literature was more or less current among the people; although it is not probable that more than a small per cent could read.

It has been pointed out that national collections of patriotic songs, of shorter poems, such as battle songs and various types of folk lore, had been made long before. Much of the traditional history of Israel was preserved and transmitted orally, probably sung at sacred festivals, around camp fires, at social gatherings and in the home circle, for instruction and inspiration. Their history was finally written down and embodied in the prophetic narratives of the earlier Old Testament books.

It has been pointed out also that rudimentary legal codes appear to have been written, probably for the guidance and instruction of the officers of the law. These codes had their beginnings in judgments and decisions by the priests in the sanctuary in answer to questions brought them by the people. Many of them grew up orally, probably long before they were commited to writing. The earliest tradition we have of a written code is that of the Decalogue, inscribed upon two tablets of stone. The old Book of the Covenant in two editions (Ex. 20:20 to 23:33) has been described in brief. The beginnings of the laws of holiness (Lev. 17 to 26) are thought to have been in existence at the earlier period also. The tablets of stone, the tradition is, were kept in the ark, which was looked upon as a symbol of Jehovah's presence among His people. Quotations from priestly laws before the exile are very rare. The few we have (Deut. 14:4–20; I. Sam. 2:22; I. Kings 8:1, 5), prove nothing more than that some such collections existed perhaps for the private use of the priests.

We have shown that each of the three periods of Hebrew history had its governing code, the Book of the Covenant for the early period, the Book of Deuteronomy for the middle period, and the Priests' Code for the late period. The prophets never appeal to a written law as their source of authority. Hosea mentioned the way in which Jehovah makes himself known to his people, but does not name a book (12:10).

The prophetic movement has been traced from simple beginnings, when prophesy with its raving, roving dervishes, was taken over from the Canaanites by Israel through the work of the forerunners to its culmination in the great prophets of the eighth century, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. All this indicates that Israel had a considerable body of literature previous to the time of Josiah, but there is little evidence that up to this time it had been collected into one book or had in any way assumed the sacred authority of canonical scripture, with perhaps the single exception of the Decalogue. Israel, like other ancient nations, seems to have had archives in the sanctuary and to have preserved their documents of value. "Out of the passages generally quoted to show that we should attribute the preservation of the Old Testament Scriptures to the practice of storing archives in the sanctuary, one passage refers to the two tables of stone (Exodus xl. 20), three passages to the substance of the law of Deuteronomy (Deut. xcii. 18, xxxi. 24–26) II. Kings xxii. 8); one, a very doubtful case, to a writing of Joshua which has not survived (Joshua xxiv. 26); one, to a law of the monarchy, of which we are told nothing beyond the fact that Samuel committed it to writing and laid it up before the Lord (I. Samuel x. 25). At the most, then, it may be said, tradition, as represented by these passages, favours the view that some portions of the earliest law were wont to be preserved in sacred precincts. But, judging from the history, it does not appear that, until the reign of Josiah, any such portions of the law received the veneration of the people to which they afterward became entitled."

When therefore Hilkiah the high priest accidentally found the book of the law in the temple in 621 B. C. and sent it to the king by Shafan the scribe, we enter upon a new stage of Israel's history, for all great religions of long lasting power have somehow centered in a book. Why he did not consult Jeremiah or Zephaniah or possibly

Nahum and Habakkuk, if they were then old enough, we do not know. The king, startled by its contents, sent a commission of five men to Huldah the prophetess saying "Go ye, inquire of Jehovah for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found; for great is the wrath of Jehovah that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us." Huldah's reply only confirmed his alarm and he called a conference at once, read the book to them and to all of the people and had them ratify it, joining him in a covenant before Jehovah to keep the words written in this book.

This is the first stage in the making of the Holy Scriptures. That this first canonized scripture was the Book of Deuteronomy is shown by the description of the book, by the character of the denunciations it contains, by the likeness of its reforms to those carried out by the king, such as the closing of the country churches and the centralizing of the worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, by the likeness of the kinds of idolatry and superstition he attacked to those denounced in Deuteronomy, by the character of his passover, by the general condition of the times reflected in the book, by the correspondence of its contents to the title by which it is called, namely, the Book of the Covenant, by the quotations from Deuteronomy given by the historian who preserved the account, by the length of the book which easily allows the several readings referred to—by all these, scholars conclude beyond doubt the Book of the Law was the main part of Deuteronomy.

As has been shown elsewhere, it was written during the troublous times of the seventh century when foreign things, including foreign gods, were popular everywhere and the land was drenched with paganism and immorality. This book was written in a time of crisis to save the hour. It was a people's book, making an appeal for

a holy God, worshipped by a holy people, in a holy place, under holy leaders. The enthusiasm it stirred marks the beginning among the Hebrews of the love and reverence for Holy Scripture still so strong in the world. The influence of the book upon those who came after was very great. Jeremiah had been a prophet five years when it was discovered. What his attitude toward it was is uncertain. He was formerly thought by some to have made circuits of the country with this book in his hand, preaching its enforcement among the people. On the other hand, he was so antagonistic to the perverted ritual of his day and to reliance upon external authority, that some think he was attacking Deuteronomy when he said, "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of Jehovah is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely." (Chap. 8:8.)

III

Second Step in the Making of the Canon (444 B. C.)

"And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the broad place that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which Jehovah had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the priest brought the law before the assembly, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the broad place that was before the water gate from early morning until midday, in the presence of the men and the women, and of those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law. And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people (for he was above all the people); and when he opened it, all the people stood up. And Ezra blessed Jehovah, the great God; and all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with the lifting up of their hands: and they bowed their

heads, and worshipped Jehovah with their faces to the ground." (Nehemiah 8:1–3, 5–6.)

This describes the second step in the formation of the Canon. From 621, the date of the canonization of Deuteronomy, until now (444), there has been no other recognized book of Holy Scripture.

Attention has already been called to the great literary activity of the exilic and early post-exilic period. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, the author of Lamentations, the author of Second Isaiah, the author of Job, the literary editors—what a galaxy! It is impossible to say whether they were all working in touch with each other or independently. Several types of mind are represented in this group. Evidence abounds that they were students of the history of their people. Who could say what promise the future held? Was this to be the end of their dreams? The old prophetic spirit lingered on and labored hard to preserve the results of their predecessors. The spirit of the Deuteronomist expressed itself by retouching with their peculiar hortatory style many of the old books. Indeed, there seems to have been a sort of school of editorial workers that existed for 200 years and did much to influence the popular ideals. This was the time when the Sage rose in giant-like strength to grapple with the problem of suffering, which was breaking the hearts of the people. This was the time, also, when the ritualist and the legalist prepared to come to his own. The Holiness Code, which was an advance upon Deuteronomy, was set forth in answer to the needs of the hour. Ezekiel's code, which was an advance upon the Holiness Code, was drawn as a sort of ceremonial ideal for the life of the redeemed community. Meanwhile priestly pens were busy gathering together and formulating the laws and traditions of the past. They had as a basis of their work the minor codes which have been mentioned, particularly that of Ezekiel. They had also additional traditions, possibly documents, all of

which they used to weave into one consecutive story and set in a definite framework everything that bore upon their history or institutions. The result of all these activities was embodied in the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy was thus privately supplemented by the combining of J E D and P, the retouching of it all by D, and the uniting of the five books into one whole. This was the law of Moses, in which Ezra was a ready scribe and which was in his hand (Ezra 7:14) when he went up from Babylon "to seek the law of Jehovah, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances" (Ezra 7:10). It was probably the Priests' Code soon after incorporated in the completed Hexateuch.

When the psychological moment came, he called the people together, read it and had them ratify it. It was to them a new book. It contained requirements in addition to those in Deuteronomy, such as the observance of the feast of the tabernacles (Deut. 16:13–17) Numbers 29:12–38) and changes in tithing (Deut. 14:22–29; Numbers 18:21–32). The Levites seem to be more conspicuous than the priests in the promulgation of this law.

We enter now upon a second stage in the religion of Israel. The priestly laws contained in the Pentateuch are to be the basis of the whole life of the community. There was no longer to be a hereditary group of men in exclusive possession of the key of knowledge. Judaism begins to be the religion of a people's book, of a series of books indeed, which must be interpreted authoritatively. Since everybody was now to have the law for themselves, there must be a way provided by which its meaning can be as certain as possible. This called for a new professional class whose sole business was to explain the law. Both the prophet and the priest must therefore give place to the scribe as the authoritative teacher. It was a critical moment in the history of Judaism. Liberalizing tendencies had so developed that

even the priests seem to favor a policy of free intercourse with non-Jews for the material advantages to be gained. The type of officialdom here developed never changed till the Temple was finally destroyed by Titus in 70 A. D. The priest was always to be found on the side of the loaves and fishes. Many of them, Sadducees, were out and out materialists. Not a few denied the doctrine of the future life which came in the late post-exilic period to be central in the religion of the Pharisees. It was a new theology. They were standpatters. The Pharisees were heretics. This later liberalizing tendency threw itself against the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah and might have won but for the place the Torah was given in social and religious life. A new standard of that which is holy and unholy, clean and unclean, right and wrong, was raised for all Jews, not only in Jerusalem but in Babylon, in Alexandria, in the Dispersion, everywhere. Though narrow and severe, Ezra and Nehemiah thus saved the day by inculcating Judaism which was a new type of religion, requiring submission to the yoke of the law. This was the beginning of the legalism, which developed into an oppressive system by juggling scribes, Jesus and Paul sought to destroy. Ryle gives several reasons for believing that the law read by Ezra was substantially the Pentateuch. From the earliest time at which mention is made of the Hebrew Canon it is spoken of distinctively as a separate group from the Prophets and the other Writings. It is implied by the exceptional reverence paid to the laws of Moses in the post-exilic writings of the Old Testament. Chronicler assumes it. Malachi appeals to it. So late a Psalm as the 119th dwells upon it. No other authoritative standard is appealed to till we get to Daniel in the second century B. C. It is implied in the special deference accorded to the Pentateuch by Jews of the later time in comparison with that which they paid to their other scriptures. Ecclesiasticus (22:23) eulogizes it.

Antiochus sought to destroy it. The great care with which it was translated into Greek and made the first installment of the Septuagint indicates great veneration. Philo ascribes to it the highest gift of divine inspiration. The early acceptance of the Torah alone as sacred scripture is implied. For a long time synagogue lessons were selected from it alone. The title of the Law was long afterwards used to designate the whole Hebrew canon of scripture as a result of earlier usage and of the higher esteem in which the Law was held. The circumstantial evidence of these converging lines is greatly strengthened by the Samaritan Pentateuch, the only canon of scripture recognized by the Samaritans. When the grandson of Eliashib, supposed to have been the renegade priest of the time of Manasseh, was ejected by Nehemiah in 432 B. C., he seems to have carried to Samaria a copy of the Torah. This Samaritan Pentateuch, still recognized by the Samaritans as the only canon of scripture, is written in the early Hebrew or Canaanite characters and not in the square Hebrew or Aramean characters in which our Hebrew Bibles are written. These old Hebrew characters are the same as those in which the Siloam inscription belonging to the age of Hezekiah (700 B. C.) was written and bear general resemblance to the characters in Mesa's inscription on the Moabite stone (900–850 B. C.). These old characters were long in use but were gradually supplanted by the Aramean, both continuing together for a considerable period. The alphabet of the Samaritan Pentateuch is considered a late modification of this Hebrew writing which probably continued till the fourth or third century B. C. Under the influence of the Dispersion the Aramean finally supplanted this alphabet. We have then the Torah which was received by the Samaritans at the close of the fifth or at the beginning of the fourth century B. C. as a crowning testimony to the position held by the Torah at that time as the sole authoritative scriptures of the Jews.

IV

Third Step in the Making of the Canon
(250 B. C.?)

Ezekiel saw a vision,
And described the different beings of the chariot.
He also made mention of Job (among the prophets)
Who maintained all the ways of righteousness
And, moreover, as for the Twelve Prophets,—
May their bones (flourish in their place),
Who recovered Jacob to health,
And delivered him (by confident hope).
(Sirach 49:8–10.)

"Since many things and great have been delivered unto us through the Law and the Prophets and the others who followed after them—for which things' sake we must give Israel the praise of instruction and wisdom—and as not only must the readers themselves become adept, but also the lovers of learning must be able to profit them which are without both by speaking and writing; my grandfather Jesus, having given himself much to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers, and having acquired considerable familiarity therein, was induced also himself to take a part in writing somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom, in order that those who are lovers of learning and instructed in these things might make so much the more progress by a manner of life (lived) in accordance with the Law. Ye are entreated, therefore, to make your perusal with favour and attention, and to be indulgent, if in any parts of what we have laboured to interpret we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue; and not only these, but the Law itself, and the Prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no

small difference when they are spoken in their original form. (Prologue to Book of Sirach 1 to 14.)

"The things which are written in the law of Moses and the prophets and the Psalms concerning me." (Luke 24:44.)

The first of these quotations is from the book of Sirach which was edited about 180 B. C. The second is from the prologue to the Greek translation of that book which was edited about 130 B. C. In the first of these the significant point is that the prophets are named as a collected whole, implying that they had already assumed their present form, and that they follow Ezekiel as in the Hebrew canon. In the second quotation there are three references to three divisions of sacred literature among the Jews showing that the second Canon, that of the Prophets, had assumed definite form and the third was on the way. Here for the first time we have this distinct classification of Old Testament books. What happened during the three hundred years between Ezra and the grandson of Sirach is conjectural. We can be sure that the Law, because of its use in the temple ritual, in the synagogue services, in public meetings, as well as in private life, has come to be regarded with little less than awe. But can a book setting forth a fixed rule of faith and practice be an enduring inspiration? Does it not lack the richness and fulness and freedom of living reality? Besides, this Book of the Law was itself in part the outcome of the prophetic spirit. These men of God created no widespread inspiration in Israel, though their ideals were the high-water mark of spiritual achievement in the whole world at that time. In the days of Isaiah, in conflict with popular ideals, the prophets were in the public mind disturbers of the peace, heralds of distress, traitors to their people; but all that has passed now. The days of canonization are at hand; the days of contempt are over. It was impossible that such a noble inheritance as the

prophetic writings should not find increasing appreciation. When time has been allowed for the dissecting process of legalism to begin to show its strength, the restless spirit of the devout would turn to the living springs bubbling up out of these vital revelations of the living God made to the heroes of the past.

The continuation of the narrative of the Pentateuch in the Book of Joshua bound the two together for a time, but later the Books of Judges, Samuel and Kings were found to breathe a spirit more nearly akin to Joshua and so it was separated from the Pentateuch and united with them. These books were all found to have the prophetic viewpoint and to contain prophetic teachings expressed with marvellous dignity, beauty, vividness and simplicity. The prophet's philosophy of history runs through them all and that philosophy had been working itself out before their very eyes. The doom he has pointed out as following wrong had been fulfilled in their own experiences. The voices that had spoken for God in the long ago and sought to hold the people to the upward way were now hushed and the best they could hope for, therefore, was the beginning of a new cycle by the return of Elijah the mightiest of the forerunners. Under conditions such as these the leaders of the people naturally turned with fresh appreciation to the living words so long neglected. There is a tradition that Nehemiah began a collection of the prophetic books. Whether true or not such a collection was made at a later day. The prophetic books bear evidence of having been retouched, reshaped and added to during the post-exilic period. Amos for example has passages much in the tone of Deuteronomy and closes with a materialistic picture of the Messianic time that might have been written by a Deuteronomist upon the assumption that Israel would have turned to God and her piety would have become the pledge of prosperity.

Finger prints of the scribes are found everywhere.

It is thought a century is sufficient time for these various forces to work themselves out in a movement toward the classification of the prophets as Holy Scripture, which movement, by the end of another century, completed their canonization. Choice passages in these books would soon begin to be selected by the scribes to be read in the synagogues. Finding the religious value of such passages would tend to set the books apart as sacred and thus help forward their canonization.

V

The Last Stage in The Formation of the Old Testament Canon

(100 A. D.)

"It has not been the case with us that all alike were allowed to record the nation's history; nor is there with us any discrepancy in the histories recorded. No, the prophets alone obtained a knowledge of the earliest and most ancient things by virtue of the inspiration which was given to them from God, and they committed to writing a clear account of all the events of their own time just as they occurred" (chap. 7). Josephus then proceeds to give a description, in greater detail, of these inspired writings. He points out that, because they were divinely inspired, they were able, although only twenty-two in number, to convey a perfect and complete record. His words are: "For it is not the case with us (*i. e.*, as it is with the Greeks) to have vast numbers of books disagreeing and conflicting with one another. We have but two and twenty, containing the history of all time, books that are justly believed in. And of these, five are the books of Moses, which comprise the laws and the earliest traditions from the creation of mankind down to the time of his (Moses') death. This period falls short but by a little of three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the (death) of Artaxerxes,

King of Persia, the successor of Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote the history of the events that occurred in their own time, in thirteen books. The remaining four documents comprise hymns to God and practical precepts to men. From the days of Artaxerxes to our own time every event has indeed been recorded. But these recent records have not been deemed worthy of equal credit with those which preceded them, on account of the failure of the exact succession in which we treat our Scriptures. For although so great an interval of time (*i. e.*, since they were written) has now passed, not a soul has ventured either to add, or to remove, or to alter a syllable; and it is the instinct of every Jew, from the day of his birth, to consider those (Scriptures) as the teaching of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to lay down life in their behalf."

We have in the above quotations from Josephus (Contra Apionem, about 100 A. D.) the first distinct statement of the completed Canon of the Old Testament. His Canon has twenty-two books, Ruth being reckoned with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. This Canon is now fixed and final. Thirteen books of the prophets, Ryle says, are probably the following: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets. The four books or hymns of practical precepts are probably the following: Psalms, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes. What happened between the acceptance of the prophetic canon and the completion of the third is, like what happened in the previous period,—matter for conjecture. Certain books, which, because of the author to whom they were attributed, because of some allegorical interpretation made of them, and because of their intrinsic worth or for some other reason, were slowly gravitating together.

When Antiochus Epiphanes (168 B. C.), sought to

eradicate the religion of the Jews by destroying their scriptures, great enthusiasm arose not only for their sacred books, but also for any others that might be thought valuable. A movement therefore for the collection and preservation of their literature arose spontaneously. There is a tradition that Judas the Maccabee led this movement. There would be a disposition of course to hold in increasing reverence those books that proved most helpful during these stormy times. These would be entrusted to official scribes for special care. Among the first to reach this higher valuation would clearly be the hymn-books in popular use. Before long the collection would include Proverbs, Job, Ruth, Lamentations, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther and Chronicles. During the half century following the edict of Antiochus Epiphanes, all these probably came together in a third canon which was completed, say by the beginning of the first century B. C., although there were books in the list long held uncertain.

Questions of canonicity assumed an acute form upon the fall of Jerusalem (70 A. D.). The whole life of Judiasm had to be readjusted to the new conditions now confronting the Jew throughout the world. It was important therefore that in the midst of the rapid change going on everywhere they should settle definitely what books were to constitute their canon. The form in which the question of canonicity was presented was whether a given book defiles the hands. To touch a holy thing was to defile the hands—therefore, a book that defiled the hands was deemed holy and entitled to a place in the Canon.

In a great assembly in Jamnia near Joppa (90 A. D.) Rabbi Akiba, a commanding spirit, settled in the usual dogmatic way of such men whether Canticles defiled the hands by saying: "God forbid; no one in Israel has ever doubted that the Song of Solomon defiles the

hands." Like many a successor they were often most certain where they knew least.

By the end of the first century, A. D., the books making up the Old Testament were officially determined, but this official approval was preceded by a long process of selection made by the heart hungers of the people. The same is true of the New Testament, whose Canon was never officially determined until the Council of Trent. Until that time, therefore, we had no Bible whose various strata can be shown to have been definitely passed upon by any authoritative Christian body. Canonization was accomplished by popular needs.

Let us, in conclusion, be reminded again that the books of the Old Testament are what might be called "occasional writing." Some situation arose that needed to be dealt with. Israel was going wrong and somebody must, if possible, arrest her downward course. Social conditions were intolerable and reformation was imperative. Alien enemies threatened ruin and their oncoming must be met. The politicians were leading the people astray and must be checkmated. Doom was impending and the religious forces must be rallied. A special spiritual need arose and must be answered. The people were discouraged and must be heartened. The flock were shepherdless and must be led. Questions were up that must be settled. Laws for their guidance must be codified. Songs for their worship must be prepared. Books for Religious Education were called for. A perilous hour has struck and everything was in a dancing balance. Who would go to the rescue? Such issues were used by God to inspire men to speak for Him.

Our method of interpretation, therefore, requires that we find out exactly who the audience were, what the issue was, how it was met, what exactly the given book meant to say to those for whom it was written and how it said it.

Then a careful study will reveal the great underlying

principles involved. These hold in every age among all peoples. For all truth is one, is God's truth, and fits into the unspoiled hearts of all His children. It finds and feeds His own. It is thus attested His Word. There is no situation in all the reaches of human experience where this Word will not bring guidance to races and nations and show the way in every hour of need for all men who will to do God's will.

This marvellous collection of booklets, more than half poetry, mostly anonymous, seeks no defense, shuns no attack, asks only that we test the pledge it brings of God's saving and satisfying touch upon the human spirit, and venture upon its promise of a world redeemed through Jesus Christ our Lord in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

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